

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
FOI/PA  
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET  
FOI/PA# 1210766-0

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Page 138 ~ Referral/Direct - 61-HQ-7582 NR 8/12/80/AG;

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TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 01-15-2001 BY 60322 UCBAW

DATE: December 17, 1958

**REF ID: A61000**

DATE 2/16/82 BY SP6/BJ/BJ

FROM : Mr. J. F. Blundell

SUBJECT: HOUSE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES HEARINGS

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Boardman \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Pittsburgh, by airtel 12-15-58, advised that George Williams, House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA) investigator, had advised that he had interviewed [redacted] as a possible witness for the HCUA hearings scheduled for [redacted] Pennsylvania, in [redacted] 1959. Williams indicated that it would be appreciated by HCUA if [redacted] memory were refreshed concerning previous information furnished by [redacted] to Pittsburgh. Pittsburgh, by teletype 12-16-58, advised that [redacted] on 12-16-58, had requested a copy of a statement he furnished to FBI in order to refresh his memory. Pittsburgh advises that statement may be shown to HCUA personnel and Pittsburgh requests Bureau to advise if copy of statement should be furnished to [redacted]

early [redacted] was a Communist Party (CP) member from late [redacted] the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America. He appeared before Senate committees in [redacted] and refused to answer questions concerning his subversive activities or associates. He was interviewed 9-26-53 and declined to furnish information. On 7-13-54 he contacted Pittsburgh Office and furnished information concerning his CP activities. Thereafter, he became a PSI\* and furnished information to the Pittsburgh Office until [redacted] at which time he was discontinued as he no longer desired to endeavor to rejoin the CP. On 4-13-55 [redacted] executed a signed statement setting forth a history of his CP activity. He has furnished information concerning individuals whom he believed to be CP members. However, Bufiles do not indicate this information was reduced to a statement. A

RECOMMENDATION:

EX - 124 REC- 19

\* POTENTIAL SECURITY INFORMANT

Signed statement of [redacted] relates only ~~to his~~ <sup>DEC 24 1958</sup> activities and the Manual of Instructions, Volume I, Section 2, provides that a copy of a signed statement should be furnished to a subject upon his request.\* Therefore, Domestic Intelligence Division recommends that the attached teletype be forwarded to Pittsburgh instructing them to provide [redacted] with a copy of his signed statement in accordance with his request.

\* AT TIME STATEMENT PREPARED OR AT SUBSEQUENT DATE:

Enclosure *Oct 7*  
61-7582

1 - Mr. Belmont  
1 - Mr. Nease  
1 - Mr. Schultz  
1 - 100-307345

RES: baw  
(5)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 2/22/81



F B I

Date: 12/23/58

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO DIRECTOR, FBI (61-7582)

FROM SAC, WFO (100-22169)

HCUA,

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 0/16/82 BY 856 b/A pt

Mr. DONALD APPEL, HCUA, on 12/23/58, advised SA JOSEPH A. CONNORS, JR., that on 12/22/58 the Committee on Un-American Activities recommended contempt citations of DONALD WHEELDIN and HARVEY O'CONNOR who refused to appear as witnesses in response to subpoenas served upon them.

DONALD WHEELDIN was subpoenaed to appear at hearings of the Committee held on September 2, 1958, in Los Angeles, California. He sent a telegram to the Chairman advising that he would not appear.

HARVEY O'CONNOR who was subpoenaed to appear in hearings of the Committee conducted at Newark, New Jersey on September 5, 1958, likewise declined to appear and sent a letter to the Committee "Challenging the right of the House Committee on Un-American Activities to exist." O'CONNOR is National Chairman of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee which has been cited by the Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate as a Communist-front.

Mr. APPEL advised that WHEELDIN and O'CONNOR were using this means to test the constitutionality of the Committee.

- 3 - Bureau
- 1 - Boston
- 1 - Los Angeles
- 1 - Newark
- 2 - WFO

(1 - 100-13204) (HARVEY O'CONNOR)

JAC:mw  
(8)

EX-101

REC-93

61-7582-4009

DEC 28 1958

AIRTEL

66 JAN 2 1959

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 100-35340-190-199252

SAC, San Juan (100-6340)

December 31, 1958

Director, FBI (61-7582)

**HOUSE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES  
INFORMATION CONCERNING  
SUBVERSIVE CONTROL**

ReBulet 12-12-58.

Relet instructed that your office be alert to detect any name check request received from [redacted] which did not reflect a reason for the request.

Advise Bureau whether your office has received any additional information concerning this matter.

b7D

TC:cvg  
(4)W4

**NOTE:** San Juan let 12-3-58 advised that HCUA interested in conducting hearings in San Juan concerning propaganda materials entering Puerto Rico from Iron Curtain countries.

[redacted] requested [redacted] to begin developing individuals who could be subpoenaed for interview by HCUA investigators. SAC, San Juan, advised HCUA may be attempting to use [redacted] to obtain information which would be within the responsibilities of the Bureau. This matter was the subject of a memo Bland to Belmont 12-8-58 which was approved by the Director.

EX - 124

REC-8

61-7582-4010

5 JAN 2 1959

**ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED**

DATE 2/16/82 BY SP6bjt

MAILED 30  
DEC 31 1958  
COMM-FBI

MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Boardman \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
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Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
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Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI (61-7582)

DATE: 12/31/58

FROM : SAC, Atlanta (100-5762)

SUBJECT: HCUA HEARINGS  
ATLANTA DIVISION

Re Atlanta letter dated 10/23/58 and Bulet dated 6/11/58.

As reported in referenced Atlanta letter, the review of HCUA transcript relating to hearings held Atlanta, Ga. 7/29, 30 and 31/58 was delayed due to the assignment of all available personnel in the Atlanta Office to the special investigation relating to the bombing of the Jewish Temple in Atlanta, Ga. on 10/12/58.

It is anticipated that the review of the testimony will continue and appropriate memoranda submitted. The Bureau will on a weekly basis be advised of progress in this regard.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7/16/82 BY SP6 b18 pt

EX - 132

- ② - Bureau (RM)  
1 - Atlanta

REC-58

61-7582-4011

AFM/hs  
(3)

JAN 5 1959

SUBV. CONTROL

67 JAN 8 1959

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : A. H. Belmont

FROM : W. A. Branigan

SUBJECT: HOUSE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES (HCUA)

1 - A. H. Belmont  
 1 - W. A. Branigan  
 1 - C. D. DeLoach  
 1 - F. J. Baumgardner  
 1 - J. J. McDermott  
 1 - [REDACTED]  
 1 - W. A. Sullivan

DATE: December 15, 1958

b6  
b7C

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Boardman \_\_\_\_\_  
 Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
 Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
 Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 DATE 2/16/82 BY SP-6 BJS

A letter from the Los Angeles Office dated November 26, 1958 pointed out that the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA) Staff is interested in developing information relative to numerous companies or individuals throughout the country that are engaged in selling or transmitting parcels behind the Iron Curtain; that the Committee apparently suspects that this business may be being used in order to raise American dollars for Iron Curtain countries and possibly for the purpose of financing Communist Party members and sympathizers in the United States.

The above was furnished to the Los Angeles Office by Mr. William A. Wheeler of the HCUA Staff during the course of a contact with an agent of the Los Angeles Office.

Los Angeles submitted a list of individuals and companies in the Los Angeles area in which the Committee is interested in obtaining data. These include the following: Round the World Tourists, Wynn Tours, Wells Tours, Hemphill Travel Service, [REDACTED] Utsch and Associates of New York, Harmer and Company, World Gift Parcel Express Service, Lotarius Company, Package Express and Travel Agency, Inc.

Bufiles reflect that an investigation has previously been conducted under the Registration Act regarding Round the World Tourists, that Wynn Tours has previously registered under the Registration Act as an agency of a foreign government, that Wells Tours and Hemphill Travel Service are also registered under the requirements of the Foreign Agents Registration Act and that Utsch and Associates, Inc. were registered as agents for a Czechoslovakian foreign trading corporation as of May, 1958. Our files also reflect that Package Express and Travel Agency, Inc. obtained the licensing rights under an agreement with Intourist of Moscow effective January 10, 1958.

RECOMMENDATION:

EX-128

REC-68

61-7582-4017

If you approve, it is recommended that the attached letter be furnished to the Los Angeles and New York Offices pointing out to those offices that previous investigation has been conducted and registration statements have been filed by certain of the companies mentioned; that Los Angeles and New York should review their files and submit to the Bureau no later than January 15, 1959, pertinent information regarding the various companies and individuals in whom HCUA is interested; and that

Enclosure

61-7582

WAA:gds

(8)

JAN 12 1959

ES-128

FEB 12 1959

FEB 12 1959

FEB 12 1959

RECORDED COPY FILED IN 105-2096

Memorandum to Mr. Belmont  
Re: House Committee on  
Un-American Activities (HCUA)  
61-7582

separate files are being opened at the Bureau where main files do not exist.

Upon receipt of the results of the reviews of files in the New York and Los Angeles Offices, the material will be examined to determine whether dissemination should be made to the Department or whether further investigation should be conducted regarding these matters.

*[Handwritten signatures and initials]*  
WAB  
SA  
Q  
12/16  
PM

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (61-7582)

DATE: 1/9/59

FROM : SAC, WFO (100-22169)

SUBJECT: HCUA

ATTN: Records Section

HCUA has released a publication entitled  
"Patterns of Communist Espionage."

Two copies of this publication are enclosed  
 for the Bureau and one copy is enclosed for the New York  
 Office.

2-Bureau (Encls.-2)  
 1-New York (Encl.-1) (RM)  
 1-WFO  
 JAC/sps  
 (4)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 DATE 2/16/82 BY SP6 BJA/pt

REC-13

61-7582-4013  
5 JAN 9 1959

ENCL. ATTACHED

2 ENCLOSURE  
 1 detached and  
 filed with memo  
 re. J. Edgar  
 Hoover  
 2/10/59  
 re. Joint of Cong.  
 Francis & Walter

52 JAN 16 1959

100-22169

Brumby  
 Classified



ENCLOSURES TO BUREAU (2)

BUREAU (61-7582)  
WFO (100-22169)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 2/11/62 BY SP6 bApt

ENCLOSURE



ENCLOSURE

61-7582-4013

COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

The House Committee on Un-American Activities reported today that the Communist espionage network in the United States is more extensive and efficient than ever before and plays "a vital role in the advances of Russian technology." The report entitled, "Patterns of Communist Espionage," documents a number of cases including more than a dozen heretofore unrevealed.

Chairman Francis E. Walter (D. Pa.), in a foreword to the report states that the disclosures of deceit, intrigue, blackmail, and espionage should give pause to "those of our citizenry who flutter and rejoice in response to the blandishments and smiles of suave Communist diplomats."

Although it claims only to "scratch the surface" of Moscow-directed spying, the report is the first documented round-up of operations in the last decade of "The world's largest spy network, the MVD and military intelligence services of the Kremlin."

Communist embassies, consulates, United Nations delegations, trade and other missions have been, and are presently, used as legal covers by the Kremlin's spy rings, the report concludes. Evidence is presented indicating that trained MVD and military intelligence operatives make up a considerable portion of these groups.

A number of case histories, based upon evidence in intelligence files hitherto undisclosed, are presented in the report to show the methods of blackmail, terror and other techniques used by Communist diplomats to recruit spies in the United States.

"The Committee fully realizes the danger of underestimating Soviet scientific and technological capability," the report concludes. "To do so would seriously threaten our security and very existence. At the same time, however, the Committee feels certain that an equal threat is posed by any understatement of the efficiency, broad scope and importance of communist espionage in the struggle between this country and the most deadly and powerful enemy it has ever faced.

"Espionage has played a vital role in keeping the USSR abreast of the United States in the scientific and technological field and in giving it the opportunity to outstrip us in some areas once it has acquired our basic secrets."

The Committee urged "an immediate and exhaustive study and review of all United States laws, regulations and policies" pertaining to the admission of foreign diplomats into the United States; the grounds for revocation of diplomatic status in this country; and cooperation with allied governments in coping with soviet-bloc spies.

A chapter entitled "ladies in waiting" describes the use by Russian secret police of attractive women agents to trap, and then blackmail, American representatives abroad.



# PATTERNS OF COMMUNIST ESPIONAGE

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## R E P O R T

BY THE

COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

EIGHTY-FIFTH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION



JANUARY 1959

(INCLUDING INDEX)

Prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities

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UNITED STATES  
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE  
WASHINGTON : 1958

33461°

61-7582-4013

COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

FRANCIS E. WALTER, Pennsylvania, *Chairman*

MORGAN M. MOULDER, Missouri

CLYDE DOYLE, California

EDWIN E. WILLIS, Louisiana

WILLIAM M. TUCK, Virginia

BERNARD W. KEARNEY, New York

DONALD L. JACKSON, California

GORDON H. SCHERER, Ohio

ROBERT J. McINTOSH, Michigan

RICHARD ARENS, *Staff Director*

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PUBLIC LAW 601, 79TH CONGRESS

The legislation under which the House Committee on Un-American Activities operates is Public Law 601, 79th Congress [1946], chapter 753, 2d session, which provides:

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, \* \* \**

PART 2—RULES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

RULE X

SEC. 121. STANDING COMMITTEES

\* \* \* \* \*  
17. Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine Members.

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

\* \* \* \* \*  
(q) (1) Committee on Un-American Activities.

(A) Un-American activities.

(2) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (i) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (ii) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (iii) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

The Committee on Un-American Activities shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) the results of any such investigation, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committee on Un-American Activities, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, and to take such testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any member designated by any such chairman, and may be served by any person designated by any such chairman or member.

\* \* \* \* \*  
RULE XII

LEGISLATIVE OVERSIGHT BY STANDING COMMITTEES

SEC. 136. To assist the Congress in appraising the administration of the laws and in developing such amendments or related legislation as it may deem necessary, each standing committee of the Senate and the House of Representatives shall exercise continuous watchfulness of the execution by the administrative agencies concerned of any laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of such committee; and, for that purpose, shall study all pertinent reports and data submitted to the Congress by the agencies in the executive branch of the Government.

## RULES ADOPTED BY THE 85TH CONGRESS

House Resolution 5, January 3, 1957

\* \* \* \* \*

### RULE X

#### STANDING COMMITTEES

1. There shall be elected by the House, at the commencement of each Congress

\* \* \* \* \*

- (g) Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine Members.

\* \* \* \* \*

### RULE XI

#### POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

\* \* \* \* \*

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(a) Un-American activities.

(b) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (1) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (2) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (3) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

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\* \* \* \* \*

26. To assist the House in appraising the administration of the laws and in developing such amendments or related legislation as it may deem necessary, each standing committee of the House shall exercise continuous watchfulness of the execution by the administrative agencies concerned of any laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of such committee; and, for that purpose, shall study all pertinent reports and data submitted to the House by the agencies in the executive branch of the Government.

## FOREWORD

---

This report on Patterns of Communist Espionage reveals only one facet of the total war which the Communist empire is waging against the United States with every device conceivable to devilish minds.

Let those of our citizenry who flutter and rejoice in response to the blandishments and smiles of suave Communist diplomats take stock of the simple, awful truth that these blandishments and smiles are a facade behind which operate the deadly tentacles of a human meat grinder that has already consumed millions upon millions of human beings.

May those who accept at face value the pretense of "peaceful coexistence" with the masters of international communism justify, if they will, the deceit, intrigue, blackmail, espionage, subversion, and mass murder which characterizes the program of communism for no less than complete world domination.

FRANCIS E. WALTER, *Chairman.*

# PATTERNS OF COMMUNIST ESPIONAGE

## CHAPTER I

### COMPLACENCY—A GRAVE DANGER

War to the hilt between Communism and Capitalism is inevitable. Today, of course, we are not strong enough to attack. Our time will come in 20 or 30 years. To win we shall need the element of surprise. The bourgeois will have to be put to sleep. So we shall begin by launching the most spectacular peace movement on record. There will be electrifying overtures and unheard-of concessions. The Capitalistic countries, stupid and decadent, will rejoice to cooperate in their own destruction. They will leap at another chance to be friends. As soon as their guard is down, we shall smash them with our clenched fists.

—Dimitri Z. Manuilsky, speaking at the Lenin School of Political Warfare in Moscow, 1930.

Soviet-Communist protestations of peaceful intent and a desire for true friendship with the United States are an utter sham. This is one fact that stands out sharply as a result of this committee's investigation and study of current Communist espionage operations in this country.

This statement is not based on the mere fact that the Soviet Union has an intelligence system which sends agents to this country. Many other nations—including our closest allies—do that. The gathering of information relative to the welfare and vital interests of a nation is generally recognized today as a legitimate function of government. For this reason, all major powers have intelligence networks with operatives in many nations of the world, including, of course, the United States.

The United States and other nations accept the presence of intelligence agents of friendly foreign powers on their soil because, in the course of their normal information-gathering duties, these men do not threaten their security or that of their citizens, nor do they engage in activities of such nature that they raise a serious question about the friendly intent of their governments in their dealings with the United States and other free world powers.

The Kremlin's spy activities in the United States, however—particularly as they are carried out by Communist diplomats—give the lie to Soviet Premier Khrushchev's frequent declarations to the world that he and his henchmen have no aggressive designs, no desire to subvert any free government or bring about its downfall by violence, and that he wishes only peaceful competition between the free and the Communist worlds. They give the lie, too, to Soviet Ambassador Mikhail A. Menshikov's handshakes, to his ingratiating smiles, and the friendly words he has mouthed in various radio and TV appearances, and in talks before groups of American citizens. They reveal the in-

sincerity of the proclaimed desire for "peace" and "understanding" that allegedly underlies the decision of the rulers of the Communist empire to lift, in recent years, the barrier on travel within that empire so that certain selected United States citizens will be able to see the "true Soviet Russia."

Facts which have come to the attention of this committee reveal that this surface act of good will is being used by Moscow to serve its evil intent. A nation that truly desires friendship with another does not carry on wholesale espionage operations against it. Neither in territory under its own control nor within the boundaries of a country with which it desires peace and friendship does it try to recruit—or blackmail—citizens of that country into its own espionage apparatus.

Such acts are acts of enmity. They are indicative of a desire to subvert and destroy the nation against which they are directed, and it is acts such as these that the international Communist bloc is covertly carrying on today on a large scale in its relations not only with the United States but with free nations everywhere.

The Soviet Government has committed so many heinous crimes that, at this stage of the game, nothing it can do will shock the world. This committee believes, however, that one of the types of espionage recruiting it is now engaging in rates among the most despicable of its many revolting acts.

Naturalized American citizens who were born in nations now under Communist control are being encouraged by Soviet agents to visit the countries of their birth to see members of their immediate family or other close relatives who are still slaves to Communist tyranny. When they arrive, they are contacted by the secret police who attempt to recruit them into espionage against the United States. If persuasion fails, as it usually does, blackmail is used. The secret police remind them, none too subtly, that their parents and other members of their family are still in the grip of Moscow and that dire things may happen to them if the visitor does not cooperate after his or her return to this country.

In some cases, it is not even necessary for citizens with relatives behind the Iron Curtain to leave this country to find themselves subjected to this type of vicious, inhuman blackmail. Communist representatives in the United States, including those with diplomatic immunity, approach them and ask or demand their cooperation in the betrayal and subversion of their own country. They hold over them the threat of harassment, torture, death, or confinement in slave-labor camps for their loved ones behind the Iron Curtain if they do not agree to furnish information.

Moscow is capitalizing on the natural love of children for their parents and other members of their family, and their natural desire to see them again after long years of separation, in order to induce these people to perform acts that go against everything they believe in. Mothers and fathers, grandparents—often aged and ailing—brothers and sisters, and other close relatives are being held as hostages by Communist nations, not to insure that a wrong will be righted or a crime prevented, but in an effort to guarantee acts of betrayal. Stalin is dead, but Khrushchev, the butcher of Budapest and hangman of the Ukraine, carries on his ruthlessness and cruelty in dealing with human lives.



When the United States expels a Communist representative for violating accepted standards of diplomatic conduct by engaging in espionage against this country, the Soviet Union, as another indication of its "good wishes," frequently retaliates by concocting wholly unfounded charges of spying against some United States representative stationed in a Communist nation and declares that representative persona non grata. Its global propaganda agencies then broadcast to the world the lie that an American diplomat has been caught in espionage.

Despite these facts and the threatening and abusive language occasionally used by Soviet Premier Khrushchev, the Communist peace offensive is being pushed vigorously by Moscow's agents in all parts of the world. Communist publications, broadcasts, and official statements originating in the Soviet Union and other Communist countries, and those emanating from Communist sources in non-Communist nations, continually harp on the theme of the Kremlin's peaceful intentions. Soviet representatives travel throughout the world arranging "peaceful" trade agreements with every nation that will buy their line. In the past few years, "friendly" delegations of Soviet representatives of all kinds—newsmen, farmers, clergymen, athletes, scientists, dancers, doctors, and bureaucrats of various types—have invaded the United States to impress upon the American people not only their own good intentions but also those of their leaders.

"Leave us alone and we will leave you alone," these Communist propagandists say. "We do not want war. We have no aggressive designs on anyone. There must be no war—peace is imperative. Why not get rid of your foolish suspicions and distrust and learn to live and let live? Let's coexist peacefully."

The Kremlin's peace offensive has been alarmingly successful despite Moscow's wholesale bloodletting in Hungary; its murder of Imre Nagy and his associates, its continued violations of the Korean truce, of the 1955 Geneva agreement on Indochina and the Geneva summit agreement of that same year—any one of which actions, by itself, is sufficient to cast grave doubt on Moscow's protestations of good will.

Despite this fact and despite Red China's recent aggression against Quemoy and Matsu and the Kremlin's threats concerning Berlin, many people have been led to believe that perhaps the nature of communism and its leadership have changed; that world communism has surrendered its dream of conquest by violence, and that all it wants is peaceful competition between the Communist and capitalist worlds to see which really has the superior system.

The degree to which the incessant beat of Moscow's peace propaganda drums, coupled with other factors, has disarmed the American people and lulled them into a false sense of security is causing deep concern to key security officials. Within the last two years, FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, in speeches, magazine articles and testimony before congressional committees, has repeatedly warned of the danger this unrealistic viewpoint poses to our security. In one of his warnings he said:

An attitude of complacency seems to have permeated the national mind to an almost unbelievable extent.

Lt. Gen. Arthur G. Trudeau, Chief of Research and Development for the Department of the Army, in an address before the American Society for Industrial Security on September 16, 1958, stated bluntly:

We're suffering from a degree of complacency that is pitiful to observe.

On October 8 of this year, it was revealed that President Eisenhower, too, was much concerned about this problem. In response to a letter from a Philadelphia realty dealer who had made an extensive trip to the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, and Poland and had then written to him about the complacency of the American people in the face of the Communist threat, the President had written, in part, as follows:

I am often astonished as you are, at the apparent apathy of so many Americans.

These men and others in a position to know the truth have not only warned against the dangerous complacency that has gripped many Americans, but have also pointed out just why there are no grounds for complacency. When the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation testified before the House Appropriations Committee last January 16, he said:

Despite the Soviet Russian peace front, activities of the Communist-bloc intelligence services have continued down to the present time. Evaluation of investigative developments during the past year has shown that the current Red leadership has no intention of relaxing its efforts, and the increasing pressure of foreign-directed espionage networks will continue indefinitely.

Mr. Hoover then discussed in considerable detail the case of Col. Rudolf Ivanovich Abel,<sup>1</sup> the highest ranking Soviet espionage agent apprehended in this country, and said to the chairman of the committee:

I mention this case particularly \* \* \* because there are some people who think that the matter of Soviet espionage is a thing of the past and no longer exists in view of the theme of peaceful co-existence the Soviets continue to expound.

Many incidents associated with the case of Colonel Abel, Mr. Hoover pointed out to the members of the committee, had taken place in 1957. Testifying before the same committee on January 27 last, Mr. J. Walter Yeagley, first assistant, Internal Security Division of the Department of Justice, stated:

The Soviet espionage apparatus directed against the free world is more dangerous than it has ever been in our history. \* \* \*

Lt. Gen. Trudeau, in his previously mentioned speech before the American Society for Industrial Security, stated:

Their [the Communists'] intelligence and counterintelligence \* \* \* is practically on a wartime basis. And their

<sup>1</sup> See p. 7.

espionage, particularly their industrial espionage, is rated as superior by our own intelligence professionals.

Early in 1956, when the Soviet friendship offensive was getting into full swing, with agreements being worked out with United States authorities for future exchanges of delegations of various kinds, William F. Tompkins, then chief of the Internal Security Division of the Justice Department, testified before a congressional committee that the FBI had referred 481 cases of espionage to the Department of Justice in the last year and a half. Testifying before the same committee the following year, he revealed that in the first six months of 1956, 160 cases of espionage had been presented to, or were pending in, the Department of Justice. His testimony, coupled with that of Mr. Yeagley earlier this year, makes it clear that the Soviets, along with their peace and friendship offensive, are continuing an intensified espionage offensive against the United States and all other nations of the free world.

Reliable as the above-quoted men are, it is not necessary to depend on their word alone for verification of this fact. It is only necessary to review scattered newspaper items of the last two or three years to grasp the scope of this offensive. These news items afford no ground for complacency and can leave no doubt in the mind of any reasonable person about the extent of Soviet spy operations and, therefore, of Moscow's intentions as regards the free world. A few examples of such items are the following:

#### *Finland*

December 28, 1956: A Finnish laborer is sentenced to three and a half years at hard labor after being convicted of making 17 trips to the Soviet Union to deliver secret information on Finnish military forces.

#### *Greece*

May 7, 1957: Three men trained in espionage behind the Iron Curtain are sentenced to death after being convicted of treason and espionage for the Soviet Union. Another man is given a life sentence and five other persons, including two women, are given lesser terms.

#### *Japan*

August 30, 1954: A former Japanese Army intelligence officer confesses to spying for Moscow. His confession is made just after a former Foreign Office official has committed suicide after admitting that he, too, had sold secrets to the U. S. S. R.

September 5, 1957: A former Foreign Office official is fined and sentenced to prison for selling secrets to a Soviet agent.

#### *Austria*

February 27, 1957: Police arrest two secret agents of the Kadar government of Hungary as they board a plane for the United States.

September 25, 1957: An Austrian Customs Service official is arrested for espionage and confesses that he turned information over to Czech Communist agents.

#### *Iran*

March 1, 1956: The assistant military attaché of the Soviet Embassy is expelled as a spy after being arrested with an Iranian Air Force officer who confesses espionage.

*Germany*

April 17, 1957: An official of the West German Defense Ministry is arrested and charged with espionage a few weeks after a naval lieutenant commander has been arrested on the same charge and has attempted suicide.

July 23, 1957: West German security officials smash a Communist spy ring headquartered in a Bonn hotel. The hotel is a favorite gathering place of foreign diplomats.

July 29, 1957: The United States Army in Germany reveals the failure of a Soviet plan to recruit a United States intelligence officer as a spy through a woman who breaks with Moscow and confesses her role in the plot.

November, 1957: German officials reveal that a former first lieutenant in the West German Air Force has been convicted of espionage. This man, after volunteering for the Air Force, had managed to be assigned to the United States for training as a jet pilot so that he could learn United States military secrets.

October 2, 1958: A lieutenant commander of West Germany's naval air arm is arrested by military counterintelligence officers and charged with treason. The officer had returned to Germany a few months previously, after being assigned to Great Britain to receive training that would qualify him as an expert in certain radar and electronics fields. It is reported that several others were arrested at the same time on similar charges and this case might blow up into the nation's biggest military espionage case.

*Denmark*

January 29, 1957: The Danish Government asks Soviet Military Attaché Lt. Col. Anatolij Rogov to leave the country after security agencies have had him under surveillance for several months.

February 27, 1957: The Government expels Soviet Lt. Cmdr. Mikhail Rudichev, assistant naval attaché of the Soviet Embassy, on the grounds that he is attempting to obtain secret military information.

*Sweden*

September 5, 1956: A 46-year-old radar instrument maker is indicted and pleads guilty to grand espionage for the Soviet Union. Sweden also expels Peter Mirosjnikov, an employee of the Soviet Trade Mission, for espionage and sends a formal protest to Moscow about its spy activities in that country.

January 3, 1957: Two Swedish engineers and a Turkish citizen are arrested and charged with serving as Soviet espionage agents since 1954. The men are employed by a firm which is under contract to the Government department charged with building Sweden's nationwide network of underground A-bomb-proof naval and airbases.

April 24, 1957: A United States-born assistant secretary of the Swedish Atomic Energy Commission is convicted of espionage along with a former navy draftsman.

NOTE.—In addition to the above incidents, Swedish security officials broke up one Soviet spy ring in 1950 and another in 1955. Sweden, a neutral country, is the *leading small nation in the development of atomic energy.*

Narrowing the field to the United States, we find numerous espionage cases which have been made public in the last few years and which give the lie to Soviet protestations of a desire for real friendship with this country. As a result of Government prosecutions and the testimony of Boris Morros before this committee, the following espionage cases have recently been prominently featured in the United States press:

*Jack Soble*

On October 8, 1957, Soble was sentenced to seven years in prison after pleading guilty in his trial to spying for the Soviet Union.

A Lithuanian refugee who had come to the United States in 1941 and used a brush importing business as a cover for his activities as head of a Soviet spy ring, Soble was arrested on January 26, 1957, under an indictment which might have brought the death penalty had he been convicted under it.

Soble at first claimed innocence but later had a change of heart, expressed remorse for what he had done, and cooperated with the Government by giving it further information on Soviet espionage activities in the United States. At the time of his trial, he pleaded guilty to the second count of his indictment—conspiring to obtain information vital to the United States while knowing that it would be turned over to the Soviet Union. As a result, the first count of the indictment, which charged him with actually transmitting defense secrets to Moscow and carried a possible death penalty, was dropped. The chief Government witness against Soble was United States counterspy Boris Morros.

*Myra Soble*

On August 9, 1957, Myra Soble, wife of Jack, was sentenced to five and a half years in prison after pleading guilty, with him, to charges of espionage.

*Jacob Albam*

On August 9, 1957, Albam, like Mrs. Soble, was sentenced to five and a half years in prison after pleading guilty to, and being convicted of, espionage in behalf of the Soviet Union as a member of the Soble spy ring.

On October 8, 1957, the sentences of Mrs. Soble and Albam were reduced, respectively, to four and five years. In lightening the sentences, the judge stated that he was taking into account the remorse of both people for what they had done and the valuable assistance they had given to the United States Government since their arrest.

*Mr. and Mrs. George M. Zlatovski*

On July 8, 1957, the Zlatovskis were indicted as members of the global Soviet spy ring run by Soble. In all, 38 overt acts of espionage were charged against them. The indictment stated that they had been members of the Soble spy ring as early as 1945, that they had turned over information to Boris Morros, and that Soble had paid them for their work with funds supplied by the Soviet Union.

Zlatovski is a Russian-born engineer and a former U. S. Army intelligence officer, who had left military service in 1948. His wife, the former Jane Foster, is an artist and an 11th-generation American, a

former employee of the Office of Strategic Services and the daughter of a prominent San Francisco family.

At the time of indictment, the Zlatovskis were in Paris, where they had lived since 1949. They denied the charges made against them in the indictment, but refused to return to the United States to face trial.

One of the important elements in the Zlatovski case is that in 1955, when Mrs. Zlatovski's passport expired, Secretary of State Dulles tried to have its renewal blocked on the basis of information concerning Communist activities on her part over a period of years up to and including 1948. She then sued for renewal of her passport, and Judge Burnita S. Matthews of the Federal district court in Washington, D. C., ruled that the State Department had to renew her passport unless it could present more recent and damaging evidence against her.

Faced with the choice of revealing information that would have led to the disclosure of Boris Morros to the Soviets as a counterspy for the United States or renewing Mrs. Zlatovski's passport, the State Department took the latter course as the lesser of the two evils. Mrs. Zlatovski was thus enabled to evade trial for the acts she had committed against her country in behalf of the international Communist conspiracy.

*Col. Rudolf Ivanovich Abel*

On November 15, 1957, Abel, an officer of Soviet intelligence, was sentenced to 30 years in prison and fined \$3,000 for passing United States defense and atomic secrets to Moscow.

Abel had entered the United States in 1948 and had conducted espionage against this country until his arrest on June 21, 1957, on the information of Reino Hayhanen, a confessed Soviet spy and member of the Abel ring who had defected a month earlier. Hayhanen was the chief Government witness against Abel in his trial. Abel pleaded not guilty, but neither took the stand in his own defense nor produced a single witness on his behalf during the trial.

*M. Sgt. Roy A. Rhodes*

On February 21, 1958, an Army court-martial convicted Rhodes of conspiring to deliver United States secrets to the Soviet Union and sentenced him to five years' imprisonment at hard labor, dishonorable discharge from the Army, and forfeiture of all pay and allowances.

Rhodes had been head of the motor pool of the United States Embassy in Moscow from 1951 to 1953. He admitted in the trial of Colonel Abel, in which he had testified for the Government, that he had received about \$3,000 from Soviet agents for information he had given them while stationed in the Soviet capital.

*Mr. and Mrs. Alfred K. Stern*

On June 16, 1958, a Federal grand jury returned a three-count indictment against the Sterns which could bring them the death penalty if they are ever brought to trial. They were charged with being members of a Soviet spy ring that included Boris Morros and Vassili Zubilin, former second secretary of the Soviet Embassy in Washington.

The Sterns had been subpoenaed on March 14, 1958, to appear before the same grand jury that indicted the Sobles, Albam, and the Zlatov-

skis. Both were in Mexico at the time, having moved there in 1953. Following their refusal to appear before the grand jury, they were convicted of contempt and fined \$25,000 each.

Early in July 1958, they left Mexico City by plane for Zurich, renounced their United States citizenship, and took refuge behind the Iron Curtain. Like the Zlatovskis, Mr. and Mrs. Stern had both been very active in Communist fronts in earlier years. Stern was a wealthy New York investment broker. In their contempt trial the Government prosecutor claimed that they were worth \$1,250,000, that they had an annual income of \$50,000 from securities, and that in February and March 1957 they had liquidated in the United States securities worth \$532,000 and also sold a large estate in Ridgefield, Conn. Mrs. Stern, the former Martha Dodd, is the daughter of a United States Ambassador to Germany in the 1930's.

Boris Morros has revealed that it was Mrs. Stern who placed him under suspicion with his Soviet espionage bosses—and thus endangered his life—by writing a report to Moscow saying that she suspected his loyalty to the Soviet Union.

### *Mark Zborowski*

On November 20, 1958, Zborowski, a Russian-born anthropologist and former Harvard research assistant, was convicted of perjury in denying to a Federal grand jury investigating espionage that he had known Jack Soble.

Zborowski had come to the United States as a refugee in 1941. He had admitted that he had been an agent of the Soviet secret police in France in the early 1930's and that he had infiltrated the Trotskyite movement there to report to Moscow on its activities. He denied, however, that he had ever committed espionage while in the United States.

Jack Soble testified in the trial of Zborowski that he had met him 40 to 50 times and that Zborowski had given him information for transmission to the Soviet Union.

On December 8, 1958, Zborowski was sentenced to five years in prison, the maximum penalty for perjury.

The American public today is bombarded—via radio, TV, newspapers, and magazines—with news of the moment. Events pile up on events at a tremendous rate so that the big headline developments of one week are not only gone, but largely forgotten, when the next week rolls around. For this reason, many people do not grasp the pattern of continuing, worldwide Soviet espionage—documented by numerous news accounts—which reveals Moscow's true designs on the non-Communist world. The case of the exposed spy of a year ago, two years ago, and six months ago is forgotten, lost in the welter of big new developments.

The Kremlin's alleged "peaceful" intentions, however, are not forgotten because Moscow, by repeated declarations, statements, and so on, sees to it that our very effective news media keep word of its *stated* desires before the people of the world day after day, month after month, year after year—and its use of our information media in this fashion achieves its desired results.

These facts—the continuing pattern of secret, large-scale Soviet espionage against the free world, coupled with Moscow's open, equally

large-scale and persistent talk of peace and with the dangerous complacency of the American people that has resulted largely from it—compel this committee to share the deep, openly expressed concern of the President, J. Edgar Hoover, General Trudeau, and others about the apathy of the American public in the face of the great danger our Nation and the free world face in the international Communist conspiracy.

It is for this reason that this report on some of the present-day patterns of Soviet espionage is being published. It is the hope of the committee that this report will again bring home to the American people the truth about the real aims of Khrushchev and his followers in all parts of the world and disabuse them of the false and dangerous notion that true "peaceful coexistence" is either desired by—or possible with—the Kremlin.



## CHAPTER II

### TARGET—THE UNITED STATES

\* \* \* war now involves not only the armed combatants but the whole political economic, and social life of the community. The aims of espionage have likewise expanded, so that no part of the machinery of government, or of the organization of civil life, can be regarded—even in times of peace—as exempt from its attentions

*Report of the Australian Royal Commission on Espionage, August 22, 1955, page 12.*

When the chief of the Internal Security Division of the Department of Justice testified before the House Appropriations Committee in early 1956, he revealed, as previously mentioned, that the FBI had turned 481 cases of espionage over to the Department of Justice in the preceding year and a half. Since that time, however, the public has learned, at most, the details of only a handful or so of them. In all probability, it will never learn anything about the great majority of the others.

Many spies are never exposed, though their identities and activities are known to security agencies. Most are never tried and convicted for espionage. There are three primary reasons for this:

(1) Frequently, in cases involving Communist espionage, the guilty party has diplomatic status and is therefore immune to prosecution—though he may be declared *persona non grata* and thus forced to leave the country in which he has been carrying on espionage activity.

(2) Often, although security agencies know without question that a certain person is, or has, engaged in espionage, the evidence required to secure a conviction in court is not available because of legal technicalities.

(3) Sometimes security agencies do not want a prosecution, even though all the evidence required for conviction is at hand. This may be because they would have to risk exposing, or giving valuable clues to, the identity of their own agents or counteragents or because, knowing the identity of the spy and also knowing that he is not securing vital information, they prefer to let him continue his operations in the hope that he will lead them to new—as yet unidentified—and perhaps more dangerous espionage agents.

For these reasons, the number of Communist espionage agents uncovered and prosecuted in the courts of this country and other nations of the free world is by no means a true indication of the extent of Communist espionage operations and the number of agents Moscow has working for it. These publicized cases represent only some of Moscow's partial failures. They are the exposed part of the iceberg which is nine-tenths concealed and permanently hidden from view.

Investigation by this committee reveals that Moscow is going about its business of recruiting espionage agents in this country at all times and in a very thorough and businesslike way. The secret police in Communist countries collect leads about potential recruits through a

system that involves checking mail to and from the United States, the names of the senders of food packages to Iron Curtain countries and, of course, all persons who enter these countries as tourists or to see relatives.

A check is then made through sources available to the international Communist espionage network to see if the occupations of these people can be determined by means other than direct contact. If these sources reveal that the person's work is such that he would not be in a position to acquire information useful to Moscow, he is not approached. When the person's occupation cannot be learned in any other way, a direct contact is made. Again, if it is learned that the person is not in a position to pass on useful information, he is dropped.

Oddly enough, results beneficial to communism sometimes flow from contacts which turn out to be useless. In the usual procedure, an Iron Curtain representative in the United States will telephone the person he wishes to contact, explain in some plausible fashion how he knows of him, and then say he just happens to be passing through the city and, while waiting for a train or plane connection, would like to talk to him. He will then visit and spend an hour or more in friendly conversation with the party. When, having discovered that the person is useless as a source of information, he leaves, and the person is never contacted again, he or she is frequently left with the impression that Iron Curtain representatives are really nice fellows—friendly, interested in people's affairs, and not at all desirous of trying to get them to commit espionage or do anything else disloyal.

This report, it is hoped, will dispel the naivete of such people and forewarn others who may be approached of what is really behind these "friendly" visits.

A substantial number of cases which have been the subject of investigation by this committee in the past year reveal that, in their recruiting operations, the Communist secret police are devoting special effort to Americans with close relatives behind the Iron Curtain. Often, but not always, these people are naturalized citizens.

Summaries of a number of typical cases follow. These summaries reveal certain elements in the pattern of current Soviet espionage and recruiting operations in this country, and fall into two general categories:

First, those involving the espionage recruiting operations of Iron Curtain diplomatic officials in the United States.

Second, cases revealing the activities of the Soviet secret police in attempting to discover potential sources of information among Americans visiting Iron Curtain countries for the purpose of persuading or forcing these people to cooperate with the Kremlin's spy rings after they have returned to the United States.

For obvious reasons, the real names of the persons involved in these cases are not used, and certain of the details in each case have been altered to protect the identities of the parties concerned. Each case herewith revealed, however, is based on facts known to this committee as a result of careful investigation.

## FOR PEACE AND BETTER UNDERSTANDING

Marie Zetko, a naturalized United States citizen, is an employee of a Government defense agency. Some time ago she went to the embassy of the country of her birth—which is now controlled by a Communist regime—to inquire about some of her relatives who are still living in her native land.

A short while later she was contacted by an official of this embassy, who, in a series of meetings, tried to recruit her into the Soviet espionage network. He asked her for information on the policies and plans, relating to his country, of the agency for which she worked. He interrogated her about persons who could be useful in Communist intelligence and infiltration activity and who were employed by other Government agencies in some way connected with defense—the Central Intelligence Agency, certain intelligence schools of the Armed Forces, the Voice of America, and the Department of State.

He tried to persuade Miss Zetko to invite influential employees of the agency for which she worked to her home for lunch with him so that he could procure from them information about policy trends.

Miss Zetko was assured by this Communist diplomat that if she ever ran into trouble for cooperating with him, he would take care of her, see that she immediately received a passport, was gotten safely out of this country, and given a new and better position in her native land.

At the very same time that this diplomat was trying to recruit Miss Zetko into espionage for Moscow, he was also contacting American educational institutions to promote visits to his country by groups of students. He told officials at these institutions that he was doing this in order to improve the chances of "peace" and to bring about "better understanding" between the people of this country and his own government.

## ENFORCED COOPERATION

John Feltan is a naturalized American citizen who is active in refugee and anti-Communist exile groups made up of people from his native land which is now under Red control. Through his association with these organizations, he has developed a considerable number of contacts with United States information agencies.

He was approached recently by an official of the satellite embassy in Washington, D. C., which represents his homeland. This official tried to persuade Mr. Feltan to gather certain types of information and turn it over to him—with the understanding that it was for the use of the Kremlin.

In his talks with Mr. Feltan, the Iron Curtain embassy official revealed a surprising amount of knowledge about the case histories of many persons prominent in anti-Communist emigre organizations in the United States and also about some key employees of United States information agencies, their assignments, backgrounds, etc. He asked Mr. Feltan why certain ones had been shifted from positions they had formerly held; why one was assigned here, and another there. He inquired about the duties, salaries, financial and marital status of others. He asked Mr. Feltan to obtain for him the names of employees of this agency who had relatives behind the Iron Curtain.

He offered to pay Mr. Feltan for any information he passed on and told him that he had been ordered by his superiors to "enforce" cooperation from him. He reminded Mr. Feltan that he still had relatives behind the Iron Curtain and that, if he did not cooperate, something might happen to them.

#### UNWITTING COURIER

Years ago, Stanislaw Salowski came to the United States from a country which has since been taken over by a Communist regime. He worked hard, became a citizen, married, became a successful businessman, reared a large family and, like most immigrants, became completely devoted to his adopted country.

At the same time, he retained a natural affection for the land of his birth and its people. In the city where he lived, he joined a club for men of his national origin and frequently went to its meetings and social affairs. Discussion and business at these gatherings, for the most part, concerned this country and community matters, but there was also considerable talk of the old country and its affairs and, occasionally, the singing of its songs and reminiscence of life there in years gone by.

A number of years ago, the club formed a committee to help refugees from, and natives of, this country come to the United States. Mr. Salowski was appointed to this committee and contributed to it financially. It experienced difficulty, however, in getting exit permits from the Communist government for persons it wanted to bring to the United States.

Mr. Salowski, in behalf of the immigrant committee, agreed to go to New York to talk to representatives of the satellite consulate and see what could be done to overcome this obstacle. When he outlined his problem to an official of the consulate, he was told that the consulate would be glad to cooperate and help the committee if Mr. Salowski, in turn, would do some favors for its personnel.

He was told that consular employees could not leave New York without a permit and that, for this and other reasons, they found it difficult to get around the country as much as they would like to for shopping purposes. All they wanted was for him to assist them in obtaining articles they would like to have from other cities. Mr. Salowski, in order to help his committee, agreed to do this.

A few weeks later, he received a telephone call from the consulate official with whom he had talked. He was asked if he would be coming to New York in the near future and, when he said that he was, he was requested to stop off at a store in Boston to pick up a package and deliver it to the New York consulate. This he agreed to do—and did.

For about three years, Mr. Salowski continued this relationship, picking up packages in various cities on his travels, bringing them to the consulate in New York and, on some occasions, carrying material to other cities, and even to Canada, from the consulate.

Finally, when he delivered a package to the consulate one day, he was asked to wait. A few minutes later, he was ushered into the office of one of the consular officials and told to sit down.

The official was not friendly. He was cold and hard. He told Mr. Salowski that the package he had just delivered contained espionage

material and that for years he had been delivering such material for the Soviet spy network. He also told him that he could be jailed or even killed for this and that the only thing he could do now was to continue working for the network or face exposure. He was also reminded that he had a fine family with many children and grandchildren, and that he had better think of them if he had any ideas of going to the police.

From time to time in the future, the consular official told him, he would be given the names of "refugees" who should be helped into the United States—and these people would have no trouble getting out of his native land.

Mr. Salowski left the consulate and returned to his home in despair and fear. For months, he worried and kept his problem to himself. He started drinking. Finally, he couldn't bear it any longer and told his wife everything.

Meanwhile, he continued to receive telephone calls from the consular official in New York City. When the first call came, he said he was sick. When the second call came, he said that his shop had to be remodeled and he could not take any trips until the work was completed. There was a third call in which the consular official advised him to think of what he had been told before and that it would be a tragic thing if one of his grandchildren were to disappear—and then turn up in the old country.

Eventually, Mr. Salowski turned to his parish priest for help. Government security agencies were brought into the case. The ultimate result was the expulsion of the Iron Curtain diplomat from the United States.

#### THE FLY THE SPIDER DID NOT CATCH

Mr. and Mrs. Josef Zent are both naturalized citizens of the United States. Mr. Zent came to this country from one Central European nation now under Red domination, his wife from another one.

Some time ago, Mrs. Zent heard that one of her relatives, who still lives in the country where she was born, was seriously ill and in need of certain medicines which could not be obtained there. She talked this problem over with her husband. They decided that he would go to the Washington embassy of the Iron Curtain country in question to find out if they could send medicines to Mrs. Zent's sick relative.

When he visited and spoke to an official of the embassy, he was told that the matter would be looked into and that he would receive an answer shortly.

A short while later, Mr. Zent was contacted by the same embassy official, who asked him a series of questions about himself, his wife, and her sick relative. After he had answered these questions, Mr. Zent was told that the only way he and his wife could send medical supplies to her relative was through the embassy.

Mr. and Mrs. Zent bought a supply of medicines needed by the sick relative and turned them over to the embassy for shipment to her.

Mr. Zent is employed by a United States defense agency in a position that gives him access to a considerable amount of classified information. Several times since he and his wife turned the medicines over to the embassy, the official with whom he talked there has contacted him and asked him numerous questions about the defense establishment

where he works. Practically all of these questions have concerned classified matters.

The Iron Curtain diplomat has also tried to persuade Mrs. Zent that she should return to her native land for a visit with her sick relative. Naturally interested in finding out all she can about her relative and how she was getting along, Mrs. Zent was strongly tempted to make the trip—and seriously considered doing so. After talking the matter over with her husband and representatives of United States security agencies, however, she eventually decided not to go.

It was pointed out that if she made the trip she might be seized and held as a hostage, and her husband would then be faced with the choice of betraying the United States by committing espionage in order to guarantee her safety, or else of causing injury or possible death to her by refusing to do so.

#### A HUSHED VOICE

Mrs. Rose Martin, a resident of an industrial city in the northeastern United States, is a naturalized citizen who came to this country about 15 years ago from a nation that has since fallen under the domination of Moscow. About two years ago, she heard that an aunt who had brought her up when she was a child, and who still lived in the country of her birth, was seriously ill. Because her aunt's illness was reportedly such that recovery was unlikely, she decided that, if possible, she would go to visit her.

She applied for a visa through the Washington embassy of the Iron Curtain country in which her aunt lives. She was subsequently informed she would be able to make the trip and was also advised that if she made her travel arrangements through a certain tourist agency in a certain city in this country, the issuance of her visa would be expedited.

She did as advised, received her visa a short while later, and went to visit her aunt.

She was shocked in more ways than one by what she saw when she reached her native village. Economic conditions were extremely bad. The people worked from sunup to sundown and did not earn enough to feed or clothe themselves decently. The local minister was paid by the state and was forced to hold Sunday services in the evening because he, as well as all the people of the village, had to work all day-light hours on Sunday. Her cousins, who had been her playmates when she was a young girl, were avid Communists, completely lacking in morals and religious belief.

After her return to the United States, Mrs. Martin, in conversations with friends and acquaintances, was strongly critical of the country she had visited, its system of government, and the condition of its people.

Some time later, although she lived many miles from Washington, she received a visit from a diplomat attached to the Washington embassy of the country she had visited. This man engaged her in conversation for hours.

He asked her if she had taken pictures during her stay abroad and queried her about her conversations while there with the people of her native village. The obvious purpose of these questions was to gather information which might be used against friends and rela-

tives in her native land. He also asked her about her own life and work in the United States.

Shortly afterward, she heard from relatives still living in the country of her birth that, sometime before she was visited by this diplomat, the secret police had visited her aunt to get her (Mrs. Bartin's) address in the United States. They had asked her aunt if Mrs. Bartin planned to visit her again. They also indicated that they knew the nature of the remarks she had been making after returning to this country—and that they would probably take action against her in the event she ever went back to the Iron Curtain nation.

Mrs. Bartin's employment is such that she learns nothing from it that would be of any use to the Kremlin's intelligence service. For that reason and because of her strong anticommunism, she has not been approached to do anything in the nature of espionage work. She has had no more visits from the Iron Curtain diplomat, but, for fear of what may happen to her relatives in her native land, she no longer makes critical remarks about the government.

The Communist diplomat did not find a potential agent when he visited her, but one American voice that knows the truth about conditions in a Communist satellite has been effectively stilled.

#### "RECIPROCATION"

Mr. Rudowski is a native-born American of Middle European descent. He works for one of the major aircraft manufacturing companies in the United States. His parents, too, are United States born, but his aged grandparents, as far as he knows, still live in the country where they were born, a country now ruled by the Kremlin. For years, he has had no word from them. He has not known whether they were ill or well, alive or dead.

Some time ago, Mr. Rudowski received a letter from the country of his birth concerning his grandmother. The writer of the letter claimed to be a nurse who was taking care of her. She said that as a result of treatment received from the Nazis, his grandmother had had a mental breakdown and was under constant care.

Mr. Rudowski then wrote two letters to his grandmother, both of which were answered, allegedly by her nurse. His third letter was returned unopened, with a notation that the addressee was not known.

Mr. Rudowski went to the Washington embassy of the country in which, he believed, his grandmother was still living. He talked to one of the staff members and asked for the assistance of the embassy in getting some definite information about her whereabouts and condition. He was told that the embassy would look into the matter.

A few weeks later, an embassy official got in touch with him and said that his grandmother had been arrested and was to be tried for making pro-Western statements.

A few more weeks passed. Then a representative of the embassy got in touch with him again. He told him the embassy would definitely help his grandmother, but that it could do so only if he reciprocated.

Mr. Rudowski asked what form the "reciprocation" would take. He was told the embassy wanted information about the aircraft company for which he worked. There were additional meetings between

Mr. Rudowski and the representatives of the embassy. At each one, Mr. Rudowski was told that if he expected the embassy to do anything for his grandmother, he would have to cooperate. Each time, he refused. Eventually, the contacts ended.

Mr. Rudowski has never received any further word about his grandmother. He does not know if she was tried and, if so, if she was convicted or acquitted. He does not know if she is alive now, or even if she was actually alive when he received the first letter from her "nurse" several years ago.

#### WHAT THAW?

John Tentil, is a naturalized American citizen who immigrated to this country from an Iron Curtain state in 1935. Today he is middle-aged, married to an American-born woman, and the father of three children.

John Tentil's parents still live in his native land, which was taken over by the Communists in the late 1940's. He has had only spotty news about them and other relatives since their country fell under Communist control.

Like many Americans of similar background, John Tentil could not help welcoming the seeming thaw in relations between the Communist and Western nations that has taken place since the death of Stalin. Not only did this apparent thaw hold out the promise of reliable news from and about his relatives, but it also brought a certain feeling of relief—for if reforms and changes to decent norms of behavior were actually taking place in the Red empire, there was the chance that his parents and other relatives might have a better life and be safer from arrest, imprisonment, deportation to slave labor camps, or even death, for some political offense. In addition, the so-called thaw held out to many foreign-born in this country the possibility of a visit to the country of their birth and a chance to see members of their family again for the first time in many years.

In 1956, John Tentil obtained a passport and visa to visit his parents. He took with him a daughter, the eldest of his three children.

Shortly after they arrived at his parents' home, they were visited by the secret police, who interrogated him at length. In their interrogation, the secret police revealed a special interest in his friends and acquaintances in the United States who, like him, had been born in countries now controlled by Communists. They questioned him, too, about a number of his neighbors in the United States of Middle European background who were suspected of opposing the Communist regimes now in control of their native lands. They also questioned him extensively about anti-Communist nationality groups in the United States which are composed largely of persons who have fled from Iron Curtain countries.

The secret police visited Mr. Tentil frequently during his stay in the country of his birth. They indicated in all their sessions that if he did not cooperate by answering all questions as best he possibly could, his parents might be arrested and imprisoned.

John Tentil knew nothing about United States security or defense, as such, that would be of value to Soviet intelligence. But the secret police did get from him information that will be helpful to Moscow in



approaching other persons in the United States for espionage purposes and in pressuring strong anti-Communist exiles to halt their anti-Soviet activity. They obtained this information by holding a club over his head—the club of his love for his mother and father combined with his great fear of the harm that might come to them if he did not “come across.”

FII

VISIT THE U. S. S. R., YOU'LL HAVE A WONDERFUL TIME

Mrs. Helen Frosh is an American-born daughter of a Russian couple who immigrated to this country a number of years prior to the Bolshevik Revolution. When she was in her teens, her parents decided to return to their native land and took her with them. Dissatisfied with life there, she made repeated attempts—after a number of years—to obtain a visa to return to the United States to see her sister and other relatives who had remained in this country. Despite her claim that she was a United States citizen, all her requests were denied by the Soviet Government.

Discouraged by repeated failure, she eventually gave up hope of ever returning to this country. She married a Russian man without benefit of formal ceremony—something that was commonly done in the Soviet Union at the time. A daughter was born of this marriage.

Some years later, she renewed her efforts to obtain a visa to return to the United States and was given one on the condition that she would sing the praises of the Soviet Union while in this country.

Following her arrival here, she started working to support herself and to raise the money with which she hoped to bring her child to the United States. In time, she secured a position in a defense plant. She then made numerous pleas to the Soviet Government to let her daughter and husband come to the United States to live here with her. All were denied. After a number of years, she gave up hope of seeing them again. She met, fell in love with, and married an American.

Years went by—and then she suddenly received a letter from her daughter, pleading with her to come to the Soviet Union to see her and her father. A short while later, Mrs. Frosh received word from Soviet authorities that if she went to the Soviet Union she would be able to bring her daughter back to the United States with her.

With the developing “thaw” in United States-U. S. S. R. relations, it was now possible for her to get a passport and visa to visit the Soviet Union. She went there in 1956, taking with her her 10-year old son, the eldest of the 3 children of her American family. As soon as she arrived in Moscow, she went to the United States Embassy there to make her presence known, as she had been advised to do by United States Government authorities before she left this country.

When Mrs. Frosh reached the village where she had lived in the Soviet Union, she found that her former husband and her daughter, who was now about 20 years of age, were both fanatical Communists. She soon gave up hope of ever bringing the daughter back to the United States with her.

During her visit to this village, she was repeatedly questioned by open representatives of Soviet intelligence and also by other persons who visited the house as “friends,” but who were obviously working for the secret police. She was questioned at length about the defense

plant where her husband was employed and where she had worked occasionally. She was also asked many questions about a large United States airbase located near her home and, when she refused to answer them, was accused of being a spy for the United States.

Soviet authorities prevented her from leaving the U. S. S. R. until her entrance permit had expired, and then delayed granting her an exit visa for another several months. She was forced to sell her jewelry so she could buy food for her son and herself during their enforced stay in the "land of socialism."

When Mrs. Frosh finally received her exit visa, she felt certain it was only because she had registered with the United States Embassy at the time of her arrival, had kept in touch with it regularly during her visit, and because she had a son, an American-born citizen, with her.

#### SPYING—FOR THE FAMILY

Mrs. Mary Harskins came to the United States in 1945 from a country that is now a satellite of the Soviet Union. Her husband had been killed in World War II. She left behind her parents, a brother, and a young daughter. In the years that followed, she had only spotty news of her family and therefore rejoiced at the so-called "easing of tensions" that recently made it possible for her to obtain a passport to visit her homeland. She hoped, while there, to make arrangements to bring her daughter, her mother (her father had since died), and her older brother to the United States.

After her arrival in the Iron Curtain country, she went to officials of the Communist Government and asked for help in getting exit permits for the members of her family. She was told they would look into the matter and as soon as possible let her know what could be done.

A few weeks later, she was called to a government office and informed that she could have help in getting her family to the United States if she cooperated with the "People's" Government. There was certain information the Government wanted, she was told, and if she would get it she would have no trouble in returning to the United States with all members of her family.

Mrs. Harskins agreed to the deal and subsequently carried out a number of espionage assignments in Western Europe for the secret police of her native land. She then returned to the United States.

Shortly afterward, a Communist diplomat representing the country of her birth contacted her and paid her a large sum of money for the information she had obtained in Europe. He also asked her to continue her espionage activity in the United States. She agreed to do this when promised that her daughter, brother, and mother would be sent here in the near future.

None of them has ever arrived. Her mother and daughter are still being held as hostages by the Communist government in an attempt to guarantee Mrs. Harskins' cooperation with the Soviet espionage apparatus in the United States.

Her brother, she has since learned, was sent to an intelligence training school behind the Iron Curtain. After completing his training, he was sent to a Middle Eastern country where he has been serving as an espionage agent.

## A PLEA FROM THE SECRET POLICE

Charles Schmidt lives and works in a New England industrial town where he is employed on a defense project which gives him working knowledge of certain restricted and confidential information.

Mr. Schmidt was born in what is now a Communist-controlled country. He is the eldest son of a large family. A number of his brothers and sisters, like him, have left their country at various times in the last 20 years and settled in the United States or in some nation of free Europe. A few members of his family are still behind the Iron Curtain.

Mr. Schmidt has corresponded, over the years, with his sisters and brothers, including those in Communist countries. Through this correspondence, the secret police of his native land learned the nature of his employment in the United States.

Some time ago, they visited one of his sisters who lives in a satellite nation. She was subjected to intensive interrogation about him, his position and everything she knew about his life here. The secret police urged, and eventually forced, her to write to Mr. Schmidt, urging him to visit her and take up residence in the old country. Her letter promised that if he did so he would be given a much more profitable job than he had in the United States. Under duress, she wrote not just one, but several letters of this type.

Not long after Mr. Schmidt received these letters from his sister, a letter arrived from a brother in a free country of Europe who had managed to make contact with members of the family still behind the Iron Curtain. The letter from his brother explained that his sister's letters were a ruse used by the Communist secret police in an attempt to get him to visit that country so that he could be taken into custody and subjected to treatment designed to extract from him everything he knew about the United States defense project on which he worked. The letter warned him not to heed his sister's pleading letters, which had not been written freely but at the dictation of the secret police.

In addition to the foregoing cases, two others deserve summarization in this report because, although they differ somewhat in character from those already treated, they do illustrate how assiduously the Kremlin is working at all times and through all possible channels to recruit espionage agents from the ranks of American citizens. The first case, as will be apparent from its reading, was not the subject of investigation by this committee. The facts in it are based on recent news accounts and statements of representatives of the United States Department of State.

## WE WILL BUY IT FROM YOU WHOLESALE

On November 17, 1958, a spokesman for the United States Embassy in Vienna, Austria, revealed that a Soviet agent had approached Donald Ultan, an officer of the embassy's communications department, and offered him "huge sums" of money if he would supply information.

Ultan, the spokesman said, had first met the agent last spring, at which time the agent pretended that he was a businessman from Belgium.

The spokesman continued:

Several weeks ago the man contacted Mr. Ultan and requested a meeting in front of the Vienna Sportshall. There the agent revealed his true identity and offered to pay the American diplomat huge sums if he would work for the Russians.

The police of Vienna announced on November 14, that they had identified the person who had approached Ultan as a Soviet diplomat met recently outside the Sportshall in that city. Both had diplomatic passports, however, and were therefore not detained, the police said.

The United States Embassy spokesman, in an earlier statement, identified the person who had approached Ultan as a Soviet diplomat. He also revealed that, when Ultan had gone to meet the diplomat-agent several weeks earlier, he had "acted with the complete confidence of the Embassy."

#### CAUGHT IN A WEB OF CIRCUMSTANCE

In early 1957 a Washington newspaper reported that this committee was looking into the case of a former employee of the Central Intelligence Agency who, shortly before committing suicide, had reportedly held several secret meetings with a Soviet military attaché in Washington.

Actually, this committee had then completed its investigation of the case, having worked on it since the time the person named in this news article had taken his own life almost a year earlier, on April 25, 1956, with no more than the usual suicide article appearing in the press. The facts in the case, which afford one more illustration of how aggressively the Soviet Union is promoting its espionage activity in the United States, are as follows:

In 1954, a man who, for purposes of this report, will be called Thomas Jones, and who had been an Army Air Force captain in World War II, applied for a position with the Central Intelligence Agency. He was thoroughly investigated and cleared for assignment with CIA on January 17, 1955. As a foreign-documents officer with the CIA it was Jones' job to scan foreign-language publications for items of interest to the United States intelligence. He did not hold a highly sensitive position.

On December 12, 1955, Jones resigned from the CIA for personal reasons. His resignation was not requested and he was not under suspicion of any kind.

Less than a month later, on January 6, 1956, Jones delivered to the Embassy of the U. S. S. R. in Washington a communication saying that he was a former employee of the CIA and that he had information he believed would be of interest to the Soviet Union.

On January 24, 1956, an assistant military attaché of the Soviet Embassy visited Jones at his apartment in a Washington suburb. At this meeting, Jones gave the Soviet attaché general information on his background and arranged for a later meeting.

The second meeting took place on February 1, 1956—again in Jones' apartment. On this occasion, the attaché suggested that Jones get a job with another Government agency which would give him the opportunity to handle classified information. He also informed

Jones that he would receive pay commensurate with the value of any information he obtained and turned over to Soviet representatives.

There was a third meeting on February 10. The Soviet attaché again stressed the desirability of Jones' getting a position with the Department of Defense if possible, and listed for Jones specific types of information he particularly wanted to obtain.

Meanwhile, on February 1, Jones had written a registered letter to Allen W. Dulles, director of the Central Intelligence Agency, informing him of the communication he had sent to the Soviet Embassy and explaining that he had taken this step because he wished to serve as a "double agent" for the United States Government.

A fourth meeting between Jones and the attaché had been arranged for February 16. Jones, for some unknown reason, did not keep the appointment. When the attaché called him the next day, Jones informed him that he did not wish to see him again.

Two months later, Jones had committed suicide. A note left to his wife revealed that he was in a state of extreme depression and was taking this way out because he felt that he was a failure in life.

The method by which Jones' life was ended was an extremely complicated one, one which police estimated must have taken an hour to set up. No evidence of foul play could be found. His death was ruled a suicide.

Available evidence in the case indicates that Jones had simply lost all interest in living and in carrying out the rather fantastic and foolish mission of becoming, on his own, a counteragent for the United States.

One week after Jones' suicide, the Soviet military attaché was recalled to the Soviet Union at the request of the State Department.

It was not until almost a year later, when the previously mentioned story broke in a Washington newspaper, that the American public had any indication of a relationship between "Jones" and the Soviet espionage apparatus.

That "Tom Jones" must have realized the futility of his trying to meet—and beat—Communist diplomats at their espionage game was indicated in his suicide note:

I seemed to have been caught in a chain of circumstances over which I had no control, and after a while I lost interest in the purpose and causes for which I was working.

The enormity of the power with which he was trying to cope apparently had some influence on Jones' decision to take his own life.

## CHAPTER III

### TESTIMONY OF THOSE WHO KNOW

Experience has revealed that foreign espionage agents seek the protection of legal cover. By that, I mean they seek admittance into the United States on diplomatic passports. They seek assignments to some official foreign agency and thus conceal themselves under the diplomatic cloak of immunity. To further avert suspicion, a high ranking espionage agent may very well be employed as a clerk or in some minor capacity in a foreign establishment. However, when he speaks, those with higher-sounding titles follow his orders without question. Foreign espionage services maintain strict supervision over their activities in this country.

—J. Edgar Hoover, in testimony before  
*Senate Appropriations Committee, 1950.*

The diplomatic service is just one of many institutions corrupted and degraded by communism. In the past, the field of diplomacy has been a field of honor and prestige in all countries. Today it is not that in the Soviet Union or any other Communist nation. Moscow's diplomats have been lowered to the level of common spies who go about recruiting traitors—or blackmailing decent people—into their espionage services, while protecting themselves with their diplomatic immunity from the dangers which spies have normally always had to face.

This truth was first thrust upon the free world in 1945 when Igor Gouzenko, code clerk attached to the Soviet Embassy in Ottawa, Canada, broke with Moscow and sought political asylum. Gouzenko took with him dozens of documents which proved beyond doubt that one of the primary functions of the Soviet Embassy in the Canadian capital was to serve as a center of espionage against its host country.

#### VICTOR A. KRAVCHENKO

Victor A. Kravchenko, economic attaché of the U. S. S. R. Purchasing Commission in Washington during World War II, decided in 1944 that he had had enough of communism and asked for political asylum in the United States. When he testified before this committee in April 1947, Kravchenko made the following statements concerning the duties of Soviet diplomatic and other representatives in the United States:

I must state in general that no person holding an important position in connection with the economic, political, or military organizations and arriving in the United States from the Soviet Union arrives without a special assignment as to the collection of secret information.

QUESTION. As to every person assigned to this country from the Soviet Union?

Mr. KRAVCHENKO. At least I may state that every responsible representative of the Soviet Union in the United States may be regarded as a possible economic, political, or military

spy. I did not know of one department in the Soviet Purchasing Commission; whether it was aviation, metal, auto tractor, or other, which was not occupied in collecting secret information about its equivalent in American industry.

\* \* \* \*

I would also like to draw your attention to the fact that all diplomatic, political, economic, and military representatives of the Soviet Union who went to America can only go with the blessings and permission of the Central Committee of the party and the secret police.

\* \* \* \*

QUESTION. Mr. Kravchenko, who would you suspect of being Soviet spies or agents in the United States?

MR. KRAVCHENKO. I have made the statement already that every responsible economic, political, or military representative of the Soviet Union in the United States may be regarded as a possible economic, political, or military spy. Don't overlook a very important thing. Every large industrial ministry in the Soviet Union has a foreign department.

For instance, in the Ministry of Metallurgy, the chief of each department was Mr. Monish, who works in contact with foreign and economic department of the secret police. When you go abroad, Mr. Monish will give you a special assignment, where in the United States, and what you have to study, confidentially. You do not know, maybe the same assignment was given also to somebody else by Mr. Monish and, keeping in mind the political competition between Soviet agents and representatives, you will try to do your best to obtain the desired information, and when you come back to the Soviet Union your activities in the United States will not be judged by the official work which you have done, but by the serious secret information which you have obtained, and this will decide your measure of success and your promotion.

\* \* \* \*

One more fact. Mikoyan, this foreign trade minister, sent an order, a very secret order. All the responsible, prominent members, the Soviet representatives in the United States [telling them], how to carry on economic espionage and on what special problems in the United States. This document was delivered to special secret agents in Washington, and it goes without saying, was delivered, thanks to diplomatic immunity. In the same way, secret party orders were delivered to Washington from the Central Committee of the party. Moreover, I myself saw in the Soviet Purchasing Commission, one of the responsible representatives of the Moscow Committee of the party who camouflaged his actual work with Mr. Sedov<sup>1</sup> under the mask of the legal profession. It is clear that the Soviet Government cannot wash its hands of the responsibility for the work of its representatives in the United States.

<sup>1</sup> Deputy Chief of the Soviet Purchasing Commission in Washington.

Kravchenko is just one of many witnesses who have been in positions to know the truth about Soviet "diplomatic" activities in this and other free countries and who have sworn that Soviet embassies are used as spy centers.

LT. GEN. IZYADOR R. MODELSKI

Lt. Gen. Izyador R. Modelski testified before this committee in March 1949, after he had resigned as military and air attaché of the Polish Embassy in Washington, D. C. General Modelski is an anti-Communist. He had been an official of the pre-World War II Government of Poland and Under Secretary of War of the Polish Government in Exile. After the war had ended, he acceded to the request of the coalition government of Poland and, in May 1946, accepted assignment with the Polish Embassy in Washington. He remained in its service until August 1948, when he resigned in disgust.

General Modelski testified as follows before this committee concerning what took place when he was preparing to leave Poland to take up his work with its embassy in the United States:

QUESTION. Before you left Poland for the United States, were you given any instructions as to the type of information the Polish Government desired concerning the United States?

\* \* \* \* \*

General MODELSKI. Exactly. They told me, especially General Zymierski, "You are a prominent general. Your name is known to the people in the United States. You have many friends; you are a friend of Paderewski. You are a friend of other great politicians in Poland. You are going to meet friends. You will have many opportunities to see Americans of Polish descent." \* \* \* Mikolajczyk \* \* \* told me, "I understand, and I know that you will be there only as a human curtain to cover the activity of Col. Gustaw Alef-Bolkowiak. I am afraid," he told me, "that you will not be in a position to prevent his doing spy work, because he will be your boss, although for outside appearances you will be chief."

QUESTION. In other words, your deputy, Colonel Alef, was head of espionage in the United States?

General MODELSKI. Yes.

QUESTION. Although you were his superior?

General MODELSKI. I was his superior only to speak with other people of diplomatic circles, but I was ordered to collaborate with him. I spoke about that to Mikolajczyk and he told me, "You will go there as a human curtain; nobody will suspect that you are doing anything underhanded." At first I did not want to go, and he afterward told me, "You are an experienced man. I don't know if you will succeed and perhaps you will not lose face."

QUESTION. When you left Poland, did you receive written instructions to set up espionage units in the United States?

General MODELSKI. Yes. \* \* \* It was as Mikolajczyk told me—that he was convinced I would never get any



instructions for espionage. But in March of 1946, as I was leaving for London, very late one night, someone knocked at my door, and I saw an officer in a Polish uniform who handed me an envelope which was addressed to me. I was very eager to look at it, and I opened it and saw that it contained instructions to set up a spy ring in the United States. It had exact instructions as to which way I was to do it.

When General Modelski, fed up with the underhanded game the Communist government of Poland was trying to force him to play in the United States, resigned, he took with him many documents to prove that Polish embassy officials were being used as spies in this country.

Twenty-seven such documents were introduced as evidence during his appearance before this committee. The following exchange took place about one of them while he was testifying:

QUESTION. The next document is dated September 11, 1946, from Warsaw, and is signed by S. Zymierski, Marshal of Poland. It is addressed to General Modelski, at the Embassy of the Polish Republic in Washington, D. C. It states that he has "commissioned General of the Army Karol Swierczewski, the Second Deputy Minister of the National Defense, to conduct an inspection of the work of your office up to the present time. In this connection, you are ordered hereby to conform with the instructions and advices of General of the Army Karol Swierczewski."

What did he advise you, General? \* \* \* Did he give you any instructions?

General MODELSKI. Yes; he wanted me to obtain information about the whole United States military forces.

QUESTION. The location of military units?

General MODELSKI. Yes, and schools; military schools. He wanted to get all this.

QUESTION. It was more or less a repetition of your basic instructions received before you left Moscow?

General MODELSKI. Yes.

The following exchange between General Modelski and the committee counsel concerning another document supplied by him took place during his testimony:

QUESTION. The next document is dated March 24, 1947, from the Chief of Staff of the Polish Army to the military attache of the Polish Republic in Washington. It is signed by Komar, brigadier general. The communication requests that General Modelski furnish detailed organization of the fleet on lower echelons; detailed organization of the navy air force; organization and exploitation of the submarine units; characteristics and methods of training of the navy personnel. General Modelski, will you identify this for the committee, please?

General MODELSKI. Yes.

QUESTION. Did you make any attempt to obtain any of the information requested in this communication, General Modelski?

General MODELSKI. No; my information was only fictitious, or from the newspapers.

The following exchange revealed the contempt with which Colonel Alef, who controlled espionage centered in the Polish Embassy—although he was technically General Modelski's deputy—regarded the American people, largely because of the laxness of our security:

QUESTION. Was there any connection between Colonel Alef and other members of the satellite nations?

General MODELSKI. He very often visited the Russian, Yugoslavian, and Czechoslovakian Embassies. Colonel Alef was very sure of himself; he called you stupid Americans.

QUESTION. Colonel Alef called us stupid Americans?

General MODELSKI. Yes; because it was so easy to obtain information.

#### ALEXANDER BARMINE

Alexander Barmine, Chief of the Russian Branch of the Voice of America for the past eight years, had been a combined "diplomat" and intelligence agent for the Soviet Union for years before breaking with communism in 1937. Barmine, after being graduated from Moscow's General Staff School in 1923, was assigned to military intelligence. He eventually rose to the rank of brigadier general. Throughout most of his career, however, he held diplomatic posts—in Greece, Latvia, and Persia. Appearing as a witness before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee in its investigation of the Institute of Pacific Relations, General Barmine was asked this question:

While you held these diplomatic positions, were you actually working for the intelligence organization at that time?

The following exchange between Mr. Barmine and the committee counsel then took place:

Mr. BARMINE. That was a civilian assignment.

QUESTION. It was a civilian assignment—

Mr. BARMINE. Temporary assignment, but I was always at the disposal of the intelligence.

QUESTION. You were always at the disposal and under the direction of the intelligence authorities; is that right?

Mr. BARMINE. Yes \* \* \* I would explain to you how it worked.

Military intelligence had several officers, maybe two dozen high-ranking officers, who were attached directly to the chief of intelligence. Besides those who worked in the regular military network under ground, these people were kept in reserve in order to use them in such civilian assignments where it would be in the interest of military intelligence to have men with military knowledge and with contacts.

Before the relation was following: I could be sent by the foreign office only to the places which would be approved by the chief of military intelligence. For instance, when I was graduated and I went to the intelligence service, they needed people in Persia. The Soviet Union had there about 16 con-

ulates in Persia. There were several important consulates in an important sensitive area in which military intelligence wanted a military man in charge. So out of the 16 consulates, about 6 of them were consul generals of my group—the general staff officers with intelligence training.

General Barmine, in his testimony, confirmed the earlier testimony of Kravchenko and Modelski about the espionage roles played not only by the diplomats of Iron Curtain countries but by members of all missions sent by Communist nations to the United States:

QUESTION. What were some of your assignments, some of your later assignments? What was the Auto-Motor Export Corp.?

Mr. BARMINE. In 1928 the military intelligence needed men in France because at this time the trade legation in France was placing orders for airplane models, spare parts, and some important equipment for military factories. There was a special military purchase department and there was an air force commission in France. As it was a diplomatic assignment, military intelligence asked that one of the high executives of the trade legation be a General Staff Officer. In 1928 I was appointed to the trade legation in France as director general of imports. I had in charge nine import departments and I carried in full the duty of foreign trade officer \* \* \*.

QUESTION. So you cite that as one of your experiences in military intelligence?

Mr. BARMINE. That was my assignment. I went to France to the trade legation under orders of General Berzin.<sup>1</sup>

QUESTION. Will you tell us of some other experience in the Soviet military intelligence you had?

Mr. BARMINE. In 1931 I was transferred to Italy as director general of imports because at this time we also had the Navy purchasing commission and the air force purchasing commission in Italy. We were buying destroyers built for us in Trieste.

Then we had orders for planes and aviation models. We had two purchasing commissions there. Military intelligence decided and the war department decided to have the men in charge in Italy. I was director general of imports in Italy. I stayed there for a year until 1932.

#### ISMAIL EGE

Ismail Ege (Ismael Gusseyonovich Akhmedoff) testified before the same subcommittee in October 1953. Ege had joined the Young Communist League in Russia in 1919. He was educated as an engineer and scientist. His initial military training was in signal work. He was then switched to intelligence and, after attending the General Staff War College, was appointed to the Intelligence Department of Moscow's General Staff and, in time, rose to be head of the Fourth Section of Soviet Military Intelligence.

<sup>1</sup> Gen. Ian Antonovich Berzin, head of Chief Intelligence Directorate of the Ministry of the Armed Forces (GRU) in the early 1930's.

Ege's public service to the Soviet Union, however, ostensibly had nothing to do with intelligence work. In 1941, he had been sent to Berlin under a false name as an official of Tass, the Soviet news agency. He had also served in Turkey as "press attaché" of the Soviet Embassy in Ankara. While in this post he became a convert to Mohammedanism and renounced communism on July 3, 1942—after he had been ordered to recruit prominent Turkish editors and members of Parliament as spies.

Ege testified on Moscow's use of both trade and diplomatic representatives for espionage work:

The Foreign Trade Commissariat has in every foreign country its representatives who are called Torgpred, which means representative of Foreign Trade Commissariat and that person is second after ambassador in his rank.

Now, that organization under the Torgpred, it is so impersonal, consisting of mostly engineers, technicians, and so on, especially. It was true for Amtorg in the United States. Now, persons in Amtorg or foreign trade representatives in other countries were used by the intelligence department and they were having foreign-trade representatives as cover for them.

\* \* \* \* \*

The same holds for the Foreign Office. For instance, ambassador, consular. Everybody in the Soviet Embassy engaged in diplomatic activity or non-diplomatic activity at the same time he was working for some intelligence channel, NKVD<sup>1</sup> or General Staff intelligence or Navy.

In Germany in 1941, just before the break of war, the first consular of the Soviet in Berlin, Kabolov, was chief resident of NKVD and factually speaking he was more powerful than Dekanozov, and if we take Ankara in 1941-42, the first secretary, second secretary, third secretary of Soviet Embassy were engaged in espionage activity.

The first secretary was working for NKVD. The second secretary was working for the military intelligence, the third secretary was working for the military intelligence and consul general of the Soviet Union in Istanbul, Akimov was, in fact, assistant resident to military attache in Ankara, Tokol Lyachterov.

I could demonstrate how all these organizations were used as cover by tens and tens of names. I am here under oath. I am not exaggerating something, or inventing. I can demonstrate everything by true facts that the tens of tens of persons working in Soviet Embassy and consulates were working under these covers for Soviet intelligence agents.

\* \* \* \* \*

QUESTION. Now, Mr. Ege, would you tell us the role that the Soviet Embassy in Washington and the Soviet Ambas-

<sup>1</sup> The Soviet secret police organization, whose functions include espionage along with other duties, has operated over the years under various names with corresponding initials—Cheka, GPU, OGPU, NKVD, NKGB, MGB, MVD, etc. For purposes of simplicity, the letters "MVD" are used throughout the text of this report as a designation of this organization.

The initials "GRU" designate the Soviet Union's Chief Intelligence Directorate of the Ministry of the Armed Forces. This is the Kremlin's military intelligence arm which also operates espionage rings in all parts of the world—rings which are separate and distinct from those of the MVD.

sador to Washington played in Soviet espionage based upon your own personal experience in the Soviet intelligence system?

Mr. EGE. Well, in 1942 Soviet Ambassadors, having their diplomatic position as chief of the Embassy, were a little away from intelligence activities.

That does not mean that they did not, though. Under roofs of Soviet embassies, consulates, trade organizations, there were secret organizations of Soviet intelligence channels working for Soviet intelligence. But they personally did not take part in it and did not direct it.

In 1942, approximately in February or January, there was top secret order.

QUESTION. This is January of what year?

Mr. EGE. 1941.

QUESTION. There was a top secret order. Did you see this?

Mr. EGE. I read it myself and signed it that I had read it.

QUESTION. You signed that you had read this top secret order?

Mr. EGE. That is right.

QUESTION. What did the order say?

Mr. EGE. That order was issued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and the Bi-Council of Peoples Commissars and was signed by Stalin and Molotov.

In that order it was stated that from now on Ambassadors of Soviet Union had to become real bosses. In Russian that is the word "Chaosyain." In English translated, that means proprietor, boss, the first manager, the person who is running some business.

\* \* \* \* \*

Now the top-secret document signed by Stalin and Molotov made an excellent point in a very categorical way that up to this date, I mean the date of issue of that order, Ambassadors were not playing the role of real boss.

\* \* \* \* \*

That top secret document was pointing to that unsound competition [between various Soviet espionage groups in foreign countries] and pointing out that Ambassadors had to coordinate the intelligence activities of these various channels. That means that Ambassadors from that date became responsible for the coordination of the intelligence activities of Russian military, NKVD, and Navy intelligence organizations, and it was pointed out that from that date responsible representatives of the military intelligence, NKVD intelligence and Navy intelligence, had to send first-hand information at first to the Ambassador before sending their information to Moscow headquarters.

Ege also testified on the use of international organizations such as the United Nations as covers for Soviet spying operations:

QUESTION. You have various international institutions. Will you give us some elaboration on that?

Mr. EGE. As an example, I was telling here about IPR<sup>1</sup>. I put here various international institutions. Their work, for instance, International Agrarian Institute, and so on.

The General Staff intelligence department used international bodies. Suppose there is war, for instance, between some country and the Soviet Union; of course, all Soviet Ambassadors and trading organizations and Tass are closed down, and everybody departs from the country, but international organizations are still working because they are not Soviet organizations.

The Soviets might have their affiliates here, sections, so it is a very convenient way to plant here agents and then to use for intelligence.

QUESTION. You are speaking now of May 1941, but unless they have changed their method of operation, you have no doubt in your mind that they are probably using the United Nations in the same fashion as they have used international agricultural committees, and so forth.

Mr. EGE. I am sure of it. For instance the same Kudryavtsev who was Tass correspondent in Turkey, was transferred in 1941 to Moscow and from Moscow he was sent to Canada where he got involved in the Canadian atomic spy case. Kudryavtsev with one of the cutouts between the illegal network and the network of military attache.

After that conduct Kudryavtsev was appointed to the Soviet delegation at the United Nations. That Kudryavtsev was agent for the fourth section and he worked under me for some time.

#### NIKOLAI KHOKHLOV

Nikolai Khokhlov had been an employee of the Soviet secret police for many years and an officer of it since 1950, when he broke with Moscow in 1954 when sent to Berlin to arrange the assassination of Georgi Okolovitch, then head of the anti-Communist Russian emigre group, the NTS (National Alliance of Russian Solidarists). Testifying before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee in 1954, shortly after he arrived in the United States, Khokhlov was asked to tell what he knew of the use made of Soviet embassies in foreign countries for espionage and sabotage purposes. Khokhlov answered:

So far as I know, Soviet Embassies, trade missions, and other organizations, so-called legal organizations, are being used for the state, for the gathering of intelligence information. I believe this is common practice.

QUESTION. Is there competition among intelligence agencies in Russia to place men in their foreign embassies?

Mr. KHOKHLOV. Great competition, because there are very few legal, that is open, representative organizations, and there are very many intelligence services.

<sup>1</sup> Institute of Pacific Relations, an international association of national councils which cooperated in a program of research, publications, and conferences on the Pacific area.

The Senate Judiciary Committee found in 1952 that, among other things, the IPR had been considered "by Soviet officials as an instrument of Communist policy, propaganda, and military intelligence."

## YURI RASTVOROV

Still another former official of the Soviet secret police who has testified on this subject is Yuri Rastvorov, a Lieutenant Colonel in the MVD, who was carrying out an espionage mission for the Kremlin in Tokyo—where he was ostensibly “second secretary” of the Soviet Embassy—when he defected in 1954. The following excerpts are taken from his testimony before the Senate subcommittee in February 1956:

QUESTION. Will you tell us how the MVD operated in Japan, on your last assignment there?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Well, MVD intelligence service maintains their sections in all countries with which they maintain so-called diplomatic relationship, and in each country they have special intelligence groups, MVD intelligence groups. The people of this group operate in the countries under the diplomatic covers, in other words, second secretary, first secretary, third secretary, and so on.

QUESTION. Now, what cover did you use?

Mr. RASTVOROV. I used the cover of second secretary of the Soviet mission in Tokyo.

QUESTION. And as such you were a member of MVD?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes.

QUESTION. And you say that you know from your experience of 11 years with the MVD that in every country where the Soviet Union maintains diplomatic relations, such as with the United States, that there is in existence an MVD operator?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes; that is correct.

\* \* \* \* \*

QUESTION. For instance, could you tell us, do you know of your own knowledge that the MVD maintains an intelligence organization in the United States?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes, I know many people who work here under cover; all kinds of official covers, in this particular country \* \* \* but I am going to add couple of words about how Ambassador, Soviet Ambassadors in foreign countries operate.

QUESTION. How they operate and how they are picked, can you help us on that?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes. Practically speaking, not all of them belong to Intelligence Service, but being the boss of diplomatic mission, he has right to interfere in operation of Intelligence Service, and the chiefs of Intelligence Service, Military Intelligence Service and Political Intelligence Service, in other words, MVD and GRU, they brief Ambassadors constantly about political information and information which they get from their sources, from their agents in this country. That is why ambassadors, Soviet ambassadors abroad, including Mr. Zarubin, are aware of intelligence operations in the country.

QUESTION. They may be aware of it, but in the case of Mr. Zarubin, the present Ambassador, he may not be actually an officer in the system.

Mr. RASTVOROV. He is not, but he knows about this business very well, because he built his policy according to knowledge, according to information which he got from intelligence service, Military and MVD.

Rastvorov, having served in the MVD up to the moment of his defection in 1954, was able to give much more explicit information than Ismail Ege on Moscow's use of the United Nations as a center for espionage in the United States:

QUESTION. Mr. Rastvorov, is there any other person in the United States, in the territorial area of the United States, that serves as a Chief Resident Agent of a section of the MVD?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Well, they have two sections in the United States. First of all, its Washington, D. C., Soviet Embassy, which is used for intelligence operation, and second its United Nations organization where they have MVD intelligence group.

QUESTION. In other words, the MVD, as far as the geographical limits of the United States is concerned, is broken down into two separate sections.

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes, exactly.

QUESTION. One section is directed by the Chief Resident Agent in Washington, which covers the United States proper, and the other is directed by the Chief Resident Agent in New York, whose jurisdiction is United Nations and United Nations affairs?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes.

QUESTION. \* \* \* You have told us this: That in the United States and its territories which you are familiar with, the Soviet Intelligence has two bases of operations, one is the Soviet Embassy here in Washington, D. C.?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes.

QUESTION. And the other is United Nations in New York City?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes.

QUESTION. Under what part of the United Nations does this intelligence agency operate in New York, in the United Nations? What section is that?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Soviet Section.

\* \* \* \* \*

QUESTION. Can you describe to the committee how they operate there?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Well, they operate in the same way they operate here [in Washington]. They are doing intelligence job and practically no difference. They do the same job.

A number of the previously quoted witnesses made reference in their testimony to the fact that the worldwide Soviet news agency, Tass, was also frequently used by Moscow as a cover for spying



operations. Rastvorov corroborated their statements to this effect. At one point in his testimony, he said:

Practically speaking, the people who represent this Government organ or Tass, about 85 or 90 percent of them belong to intelligence service, military or political intelligence service.

For instance, in Tokyo during the war, and after the war, I mentioned several people who belonged to Intelligence Service under cover of Tass correspondents. Their names—

QUESTION. Are they intelligence personalities who are connected with Tass?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes.

Rastvorov then proceeded to name various officers of Soviet Military Intelligence who had served in positions abroad under the cover of being Tass representatives.

#### ALEXANDER ORLOV

Alexander Orlov had many years of experience in the Soviet secret police before he broke with communism in 1938 and eventually made his way to the United States, where he remained in hiding for 15 years—until after the death of Stalin—before making public the knowledge he had of Stalin's crimes and of MVD operations here and abroad.

Orlov had been a commander of MVD frontier troops and chief of the Economic Department of the MVD. During the Spanish Civil War, he was the Soviet diplomatic adviser to the Republican Government of Spain on intelligence, counterintelligence, and guerrilla warfare behind enemy lines. He was a member of the "Little Council" of the MVD, a group of six people who evaluated secret documents obtained by MVD espionage rings abroad for the use of the Politburo and the Foreign Department of the Soviet Union. He was faculty director and lecturer of the Central Military School of the MVD in Moscow and the author of a textbook on intelligence and counterintelligence used in MVD schools.

When Orlov testified before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee in February 1957, he made the following statements about the tie-up between Soviet espionage and Communist diplomatic establishments in non-Communist nations:

\* \* \* Consulates and embassies have always been covers for Soviet espionage, and it stands to reason, there is no doubt in my mind that the MVD has in every embassy of that kind also their own [espionage] rings.

Then there is the United Nations, which did not exist before the war, and it has been established that there were Soviet spies in the United Nations.

\* \* \* \* \*

And I should like to add, these rings which I define here, although they conduct themselves illegally and commit espionage, they are called in Russia a legal network. Why is it called legal? Because it is conducted from legal coverups,

from Soviet embassies, which are legal, and directed by officers who have legal passports.

But besides those rings there is another set of MVD rings in the United States, which are called underground rings. They are called so because the Soviet leaders of those rings do not serve in the embassy or in the United Nations, but live under false passports as foreign businessmen or as American citizens and conduct their espionage.

They have private lines of communication with Moscow, they never use the diplomatic pouch. They are forbidden even to approach the Soviet embassy.

#### THE PETROVS

On April 3, 1954, Vladimir Mikhailovich Petrov, third secretary of the Soviet Embassy in Canberra, Australia, left the service of the Soviet, sought, and was granted, political asylum in Australia. Two weeks later, on April 20, his wife, Evdokia Alexeyevna Petrov, as she was about to be shipped back to Moscow, asked an Australian official for protection and later was formally granted asylum by the Australian Government.

Petrov was a lieutenant colonel in the MVD, his wife a captain. Both had joined the MVD, separately and not knowing one another, in 1933 and had served in it for 21 years at the time of their defection. They had married in 1940. When Petrov went to Australia with his wife on assignment to the embassy there in 1951, he served officially as first clerk of the embassy. He was later promoted to third secretary and to chief representative of VOKS, the Soviet "culture"-promoting organization. His highest position, however, was that of MVD Resident. The MVD Resident is the overall boss of the MVD's "legal" espionage apparatus operating out of a Soviet embassy.

When Petrov defected, he took with him dozens of documents. A Royal Commission on Espionage was established by the Australian Government to thoroughly investigate the information he brought with him and the question of whether espionage had been conducted or attempted in Australia by Soviet agents with the aid of Australian citizens.

Among the basic general findings of the commission when it had completed a long and intensive investigation were:

1. From about 1943 until at least February 1953 the Soviet had in Australia, and was operating (probably continuously), a G. R. U. "Legal Apparatus"—an espionage organization concerned with the collection of military (naval, army, and air) information.

2. From 1943 until Petrov's defection on 3rd April 1954 the Soviet had in Australia, and was operating, an M. V. D. "Legal Apparatus." During that period this Apparatus was administered from Moscow by a succession of variously-named Soviet organs of government before its control finally came under the M. V. D., but at all times it was an organization concerned with espionage in relation to matters other than military information.

Each Apparatus mentioned in (1) and (2) above was, during its continuance, controlled (except for a short

period) by a succession of officials of the Soviet Embassy at Canberra. Each controller was called a Resident or temporary Resident, and the Apparatus was called "Legal" solely because its Resident enjoyed diplomatic status and immunity.

The Petrovs have since written a book, "Empire of Fear,"<sup>1</sup> which is replete with examples of espionage carried out by Soviet diplomatic representatives not only in Australia, but in other nations as well (the Petrovs had also served in the Soviet Embassy in Stockholm, Sweden, from 1943 to 1947.) Toward the end of the book, Vladimir Petrov states that he and his wife were "M. V. D. officers appointed to carry out espionage in Australia under diplomatic cover." He adds this statement:

Our evidence has made plain enough the degree to which the obtaining of secret intelligence—in plain words, espionage—is a primary objective in all Soviet establishments abroad.

JOSEPH SWIATLO

When Josef Swiatlo broke with communism in December 1953 and chose freedom, he was deputy chief of Department X of the Polish equivalent of the MVD (U. B., Urząd Bezpieczeństwa). This was the section of the Polish secret police which had the twofold job of protecting the Polish Communist Party from infiltration by non-Communist, disruptive elements, and also of protecting the party's inner purity.

Swiatlo has confirmed to this committee the testimony of the previously quoted witnesses to the effect that Communist nations use their embassies, consulates and international organizations, and the personnel attached to them, for espionage purposes. He knew this from his first-hand experience in the Polish secret police.

Swiatlo has also given this committee previously unpublicized information about the Polish members of the so-called "neutral" five-nation commission established under U. N. auspices to check the observance of the truce that ended the fighting in Korea.

This Polish mission, Swiatlo said, differed from most Communist missions which normally have a relatively small number of intelligence agents assigned to them. For six weeks prior to the mission's departure for Korea, *every one* of its members was instructed in intelligence activities.

The mission was divided into three groups for this purpose, each one of which received specialized instruction. The first group was schooled on methods of protection against foreign infiltration, counter-intelligence, foreign propaganda, and defection. The second was schooled on the collection of nonmilitary information—economic, industrial, and similar data. The third group was schooled in the collection of military information. Every person in this last section had had previous training in military intelligence.

This Polish Communist mission obviously had a "mission" in Korea—but it was hardly a neutral one.

Additional testimony and evidence could be cited—but it is not necessary. With such complete agreement that it could be based

<sup>1</sup> Frederick A. Praeger, New York, 1950.

only on truth, all former Communist diplomatic officials, MVD officers, and members and officers of Communist trade and other missions who have chosen freedom in this and other countries have agreed—under oath—that the Kremlin uses its diplomatic, U. N., trade and related missions, and also those of its satellites, for espionage purposes.

They agree, further, that Communist embassies, consulates, and similar establishments in the free world, including the headquarters of the various Communist delegations to the United Nations, are centers of Communist espionage activity, and that the diplomatic status enjoyed by many Soviet spies plays an important part in the success they achieve in stealing vital information from free-world governments.

It is also apparent from the testimony of these men that a Communist diplomatic, trade, or other representative sent to the free world on an espionage assignment is judged, upon his return behind the Iron Curtain, not so much by his performance in his official, technical capacity, as by the quantity and value of the secret material he has been able to steal from the country to which he has been assigned as a representative of the "friendly" Soviet Union.

## CHAPTER IV

### MOSCOW'S RECORD IN THE UNITED STATES

\* \* \* In 1924, Amtorg Trading Corporation (a Soviet government commercial agency) was established. This gave the Soviets their first "legal" base for espionage operations. In this way persons or institutions in a country openly as representatives or agents of a foreign power have an ideal cover to fulfill their assignments of clandestine espionage. In 1933 diplomatic recognition was afforded the Soviet Union. Now trained espionage agents, operating under diplomatic immunity, could direct operations. After World War II Russians assigned to the United Nations in this country gave additional striking power to Soviet espionage. Moreover, assistance was possible through the espionage networks of Soviet satellite countries operating in the United States.

—J. Edgar Hoover, *"Masters of Deceit,"* pages 294 and 295.

It is not necessary to rely on the testimony of the witnesses quoted in the preceding chapter of this report for evidence that Soviet diplomats in the United States are busily engaged in attempting to steal our most vital secrets while they talk of peace and friendship. Even if these former Moscow intelligence agents had never testified, this truth would be apparent from numerous espionage developments in the United States involving Iron Curtain diplomats.

The United States Government, on the basis of information supplied by its own intelligence services, has expelled a considerable number of Communist diplomatic officials for espionage activities. Had this happened in just one or two cases, it might be argued that the guilty diplomats had acted on their own initiative and not on orders from Moscow. It has happened so often, however, that simple logic compels the conclusion that espionage is considered a primary function of the Soviet diplomatic service in the United States.

#### EXPULSED SOVIET EMBASSY DIPLOMATS

The following "diplomats",—formerly attached to the Soviet Embassy in Washington, have been expelled from the United States on the grounds that they engaged in spy activity while stationed here:

*Yuri V. Novikov*

J. Edgar Hoover, in his book *"Masters of Deceit"* (pp. 296-298), gives a brief account of Novikov's spy activities while he served in the United States as second secretary of the Soviet Embassy.

At 7 p. m. one night in April 1951, Novikov appeared at the Washington Monument in Washington, D. C., to carry out an espionage contact that had been arranged months earlier in Austria. He approached a tall man, an employee of the Defense Department with access to confidential information, who wore a tweed sport coat, had a glove on his left hand, a band of adhesive tape on the middle finger of his right hand and a red-covered book under his left arm. The man was walking around the base of the monument. "I'm Mr. Williams," Novikov said, and shook hands with the man. They walked out of the light to where they could not be seen, arranged another meeting, and parted company.

During the year that followed, Novikov had frequent meetings with the Department of Defense employee he met that night.

Novikov did not know that this man was a loyal American, playing the role of a double agent for the FBI. While serving with the Air Force in Austria, he had been asked by a young man named Otto Verber to give him information for the Soviet Union. After reporting this incident to his superiors, he "cooperated" with Verber under their instructions. When his tour of duty abroad ended, Verber and his brother-in-law, Kurt Ponger, arranged for him the meeting with Novikov that later took place at the Washington Monument.

Both Verber and Ponger were refugees who had entered the United States, acquired citizenship, served in the U. S. Army in Europe after World War II, and then settled in Vienna where they took advantage of the GI Bill to study at the university there.

Ponger had been a member of the Communist Party in England before coming to the United States. He converted Verber, whose sister he had married, to communism and later, when he was recruited into the Soviet espionage service in 1949, also persuaded Verber to go into it with him.

In June 1953, both Ponger and Verber were convicted of espionage and sentenced to prison. Novikov was named as a co-conspirator in their indictment. He was then declared *persona non grata* by the U. S. Government and returned to the Soviet Union.

J. Edgar Hoover, in recounting Novikov's espionage activities, makes the following statement about some of his other extradiplomatic activities:

Novikov was well known to the FBI since his activities in the United States had gone far beyond those of a diplomatic official. He was audacious almost beyond description. His brazenness reached a climax when he sat with defense counsel during the espionage trial of the onetime Justice Department employee, Judith Coplon. During this trial he would write out questions and hand them to defense counsel to direct to FBI agents on the witness stand. He was particularly interested in having questions asked pertaining to our internal administration and procedures.

#### *Igor A. Amosov*

Amosov, a lieutenant commander, was assistant naval attaché at the Soviet Embassy in Washington. On February 3, 1954, he was declared undesirable by the State Department. On February 8, he left this country to return to the Soviet Union.

Although it is known that Amosov had engaged in espionage and this was the reason for his being declared *persona non grata*, the U. S. Government has never revealed any of the facts pertaining to his case.

#### *Leonid E. Pivnev*

Pivnev, a lieutenant colonel, was assistant air attaché in the Soviet Embassy in Washington, D. C. He was declared *persona non grata* by the State Department on May 29, 1954, and returned to the Soviet Union on June 6. Again, no disclosure was made of the reasons for the action taken against him, although it is known that it involved spy activity.

*Col. Ivan A. Bubchikov*

On June 14, 1956, Soviet Ambassador Georgi N. Zaroubin was handed a note declaring that Colonel Bubchikov, assistant military attaché of the Soviet Embassy in Washington, was persona non grata in the United States. The note said Bubchikov "was engaged in activities incompatible to his continued presence in this country" and asked that his immediate departure from the United States be effected.

Bubchikov left for the Soviet Union on June 24. The State Department did not announce the ouster of Colonel Bubchikov until July 3, after he had left the country. It refused to release any details of his activities, but the fact that he had engaged in espionage was confirmed.

*Major Yuri P. Krylov*

On January 14, 1957, Soviet chargé d'affaires, Sergi Striganov, was summoned to the State Department to receive a note which stated that the continued presence in the United States of Major Krylov, assistant military attaché of the Soviet Embassy in Washington, "is no longer considered acceptable and the Embassy is requested to arrange for his immediate departure."

The note said the U. S. Government had ascertained that Krylov "has engaged in highly improper activities incompatible with his diplomatic status." It further stated that he was declared persona non grata for "improperly purchasing quantities of electronic equipment \* \* \* through American intermediaries."

The State Department revealed that the electronic equipment Krylov had purchased was classified and not licensed for export. It also revealed that he had tried to buy classified military information.

The Justice Department did not identify the intermediaries through whom Krylov had attempted to get secret military information. It did reveal, however, that Krylov had failed in his attempt because the person he approached had immediately contacted the FBI.

On January 26, 1957, Krylov, his wife, and two sons left the United States. "I am happy to be returning to the motherland," he said.

*Vassili M. Molev*

Molev, a clerk attached to the Soviet Embassy in Washington and former employee of the Soviet U. N. delegation, left the United States for the Soviet Union, with his wife, on January 28, 1957. The couple was escorted to their plane at Idlewild Airport, New York City, by three Russian-speaking men.

Neither the State nor Justice Departments, nor the Soviet Embassy, would give any reason for Molev's departure. Unofficially it was learned that his leaving the United States was linked with the arrest, a few days earlier, of Jack and Myra Soble and Jacob Albam on charges of espionage. This was confirmed when Molev was named as a co-conspirator in the indictments of the Sobles, Albam and, later, the Zlatovskis. Molev, reportedly the paymaster for the espionage ring for which these people worked, had been declared persona non grata by the State Department the day after the Sobles' arrest.

*Nikolai I. Kurochkin*

On June 7, 1958, the State Department announced that it was expelling Kurochkin, third secretary of the Soviet Embassy, for trying

to buy United States military secrets from an American magazine writer. A State Department note sent to the Soviet Embassy on June 6 demanded Kurochkin's immediate departure from this country.

The Department of Justice identified Charles Beaumet of Arlington, Va., as the writer. Kurochkin had met Beaumet socially while Beaumet was a reporter for the National Guardsman magazine. They went on fishing trips together. Kurochkin told Beaumet that if Beaumet could get U. S. Army manuals for him, he would write articles for Soviet publications with the information they contained and give Beaumet part of the royalties.

Beaumet was given about \$435 by Kurochkin in the period September–December 1957 for various manuals, news releases, and other unclassified data he turned over to the embassy secretary.

Beaumet went to the FBI when Kurochkin asked him to get certain secret information.

Kurochkin's ouster followed a short time later.

#### OTHER SOVIET EMBASSY PERSONNEL WHO SPIED

In addition to the above-cited cases there are others in which, though no formal charge or expulsion order has been issued by the United States Government, it is known that Soviet embassy personnel have engaged in espionage or attempted espionage.

##### *Lt. Col. Anatoli A. Popov*

Popov was assistant military attaché of the Soviet Embassy in Washington, D. C. He left this country in April 1956, just one week after the "Tom Jones," whose experience with the Soviet espionage network was recounted in an earlier section of this report (see p. 22), committed suicide. It was Popov who contacted Jones and held various meetings with him after Jones delivered his note to the Soviet Embassy. Popov, although not publicly declared persona non grata, was recalled to the Soviet Union at the request of the State Department.

##### *Vladimir P. Mikheev*

Mikheev was a clerk-translator in the office of the military attaché of the Soviet Embassy in Washington.

Sidney Hatkin, a civilian employee of the Air Force, gave to United States security agencies—and to this committee in public testimony of May 10, 1956—information concerning Mikheev's attempted espionage activities while he was in the United States.

In February 1956, Hatkin, having been dismissed by the Air Force as a security risk, was looking for a new position. He placed advertisements in newspapers stressing his qualifications as an economist with a research background.

Mikheev contacted him in response to one of these ads. He said he would like a resume of Hatkin's experience and that if, after studying it, he found he could use him, he would get in touch with him again. Mikheev gave Hatkin only his name and did not otherwise identify himself.

Two months later, in April, Mikheev again called Hatkin and asked him to meet him in a Washington restaurant. At the restaurant, he offered him \$25 per day for a paper on the U. S. aircraft industry and advanced him \$25 as a binder to the agreement. When Hatkin asked



Mikheev what he wanted the paper for, he said that he was planning to write a book while working for a Ph. D. degree from the University of Maryland. He then said he would be in touch with Hatkin again—but did not identify himself further or say where he could be reached.

Hatkin became suspicious of Mikheev and went to the FBI, where he told what had transpired in their meetings. He then learned for the first time who Mikheev actually was.

When Mikheev called him again to arrange another meeting, Hatkin asked him to come to his home. When Mikheev did so, Hatkin returned the \$25 he had received from him and informed Mikheev that he wanted no further contacts with him.

Moscow recalled Mikheev immediately after Hatkin's testimony before this committee, even though the State Department did not officially declare him *persona non grata*.

Following this incident, Hatkin was restored to his position with the Air Force.

#### *Viktor Matveevich Zegal*

Zegal arrived in the United States to take up his duties as second secretary of the Soviet Embassy in Washington early in March 1954.

In October and November 1955, Zegal accompanied a Soviet housing delegation on its tour of the United States. Several times during the month of November, he contracted an official of the National Association of Home Builders, the organization which acted as host to the Soviet housing delegation during its visit here. In one of his visits to this official, he asked for, and was given, the itinerary of the group's U. S. tour. During a subsequent visit, he asked the same official if it would be possible for him to get for the Soviet housing delegation copies of two reports prepared by the National Bureau of Standards several years earlier.

Investigation revealed that these reports (which had been originally requested by the Office of Naval Research), though unclassified, were unavailable because no general publication of them had ever been made. It was also learned that the reports dealt with the characteristics of certain chemicals and could not possibly have anything to do with either the building or housing industry.

In addition, an official of the National Bureau of Standards recalled that the Soviet Union, at some time in the past, had made other attempts to secure the same reports.

Despite the fact that Zegal had violated established diplomatic procedure in the method he used to try to get information for Soviet intelligence, he was not declared *persona non grata*. He left the United States in the spring of 1957, apparently after completing a normal tour of duty here.

A former officer of the MVD, although he did not recognize Zegal's name did—when shown a photograph of him—remembered "Zegal" as a man he had seen many times at the MVD center in Moscow and said he was positive Zegal was an MVD agent.

#### *Ivan F. Bukanov*

Bukanov was an employee of the Soviet Embassy in Washington. On November 29, 1955—after Zegal had made the initial request to the National Association of Home Builders official for the two previously mentioned reports—Bukanov appeared at the office of this official, introduced himself, and asked if it would be possible to get the

reports. In a letter dated November 30, the official informed him that they were not available.

Two former MVD agents have identified a photograph of Bukanov as a person known to them to be an MVD officer. Bukanov returned to the Soviet Union early in 1957.

It is clear that, in the case of Bukanov and Zegal, Soviet intelligence was using contacts made through the exchange program to try to get information which was completely unrelated to the interests of a Soviet exchange delegation—while pretending that it was doing so at the request of the delegation.

*Vassili Mikhailovich Zubilin*

Zubilin served in the United States for two and one-half years as third, and then second, secretary of the Soviet Embassy in Washington, arriving here for that purpose in January 1942.

According to the FBI, Zubilin, from the time of his arrival in the beginning of 1942 until he left this country on August 27, 1944, was the head of the administration of the MVD Foreign Information Service. As such, he had complete charge of the movement of Soviet espionage agents in and out of this country.

While serving with the embassy in Washington, Zubilin played a key role in the theft of atomic secrets from the radiation laboratory at the University of California in Berkeley. The Soviet espionage project at this laboratory was under the direction of Steve Nelson, presently a Communist Party official in Western Pennsylvania, who was then the party organizer of Alameda County, California, where the laboratory is located.

It is known from U. S. intelligence reports that on one occasion Nelson visited Zubilin, who was then in Oakland, and complained about the inefficiency of two persons in the espionage cell at the laboratory. As a result of Nelson's complaint to Zubilin, the two were transferred to other party activity.

In March 1943, several days after a scientist from the laboratory visited Nelson at his home and gave him information about experiments being conducted at the laboratory (which was then working on the atomic bomb project), Nelson met Peter Ivanov, the Soviet vice consul in San Francisco, and transferred a small package or envelope to him. A few days later, Zubilin appeared at Nelson's home and turned over to him ten bills of unknown denominations. This was obviously a payoff for the information he had obtained.

Until a short while ago, this is all that was publicly known of Zubilin's espionage activities in the United States. Zubilin had been in this country in the 1930's, however, as a representative of Amtorg, the Soviet trade organization. During this period, he used various aliases—"Melamet," "Herbert Edwards" or "Edward Herbert," "Vassili Luchenko," and "Peter" (while serving as secretary to the embassy in 1942-44, he used the cover name "Cooper" in his contacts with Communist Party representatives).

Boris Morros has revealed that it was Zubilin, using the name of "Melamet," who approached him in the middle 1930's when he was manager of the Paramount Theater in New York City, identified himself as an Amtorg representative, and spoke to him about sending packages to his parents in the Soviet Union.

"This is actually the very first infiltration—how it started," Morros told this committee in recounting how he became involved in Soviet espionage as a U. S. counteragent.

A year or two later, Zubilin again approached Morros at the Paramount Studios in Hollywood. This time he used the name "Edward Herbert" or "Herbert Edwards"—Morros does not recall which now—and said he had come to collect food and clothing packages for Morros' parents.

Zubilin again contacted Morros in 1942, this time using his real name and informing him that he was then attached to the Soviet Embassy in Washington. Again he inquired about packages for Morros' parents. When Morros told him that his mother had died and that he had made overtures to the Soviet Government to bring his father to this country, Zubilin said that he would help him with this.

After Morros' father reached the United States, Zubilin, by threatening Morros with retaliation against other relatives still living in the Soviet Union if he did not cooperate, forced Morros to agree to use his record company as a cover for Soviet intelligence operations. It was Zubilin who brought Morros and the Sterns together to arrange the transfer of his (Morros') record company to them for this purpose.

Hede Massing, a courier for Soviet espionage rings here and abroad during the thirties, has testified that Zubilin was an MVD official. She had met him in Moscow as "Peter." It was Zubilin's wife, whom she knew as "Helen," who, in the late 1930's—when Hede Massing became disillusioned with communism and was ready to break with it—forced her to return to the Soviet Union, even though she was afraid that she might never get out alive once she went back there. Hede Massing has written of Elizabeth Zubilin ("Helen"): "She was not only a well-educated Marxist and a highly trained GPU agent, she was also a shrewd psychologist \* \* \* I was afraid of her."

Zubilin was named as a co-conspirator in the indictment of the Sobles, and both he and his wife (Elizabeth, Lisa) were named co-conspirators in the Zlatovskis indictment.

#### U. N. PERSONNEL EXPELLED AS SPIES

The following Soviet personnel, all formerly attached to the United Nations itself or its Soviet delegation, have been expelled from the United States—or denied reentry to it—for engaging in espionage:

##### *Valentin A. Gubitchev*

On March 4, 1949, Gubitchev, then employed by the United Nations headquarters in New York City as an architectural engineer, and Judith Coplon, an employee of the U. S. Department of Justice, were arrested by FBI agents in New York City.

At the time of the arrest, Miss Coplon's purse was found to contain secret lists, taken from the files of the Justice Department, which contained the names of counterespionage agents—and also of Communists engaged in espionage—in this country. Both Zubilin and Miss Coplon had been under FBI surveillance for some time.

On the same day, Gubitchev was indicted on the charge of unlawfully attempting to obtain "documents, writings, and notes" and also intelligence reports relating to national defense, and of conspiring to obtain "intelligence reports relating to espionage activities in the

United States." Judith Coplon was named with him in the indictment.

Gubitchev claimed diplomatic immunity but was nevertheless tried on the grounds that his diplomatic visa had expired. On March 10, 1950, following his conviction on espionage charges, he was sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment, with the proviso that the sentence would be suspended if he were to leave the United States within two weeks. Ten days later, Gubitchev sailed for Poland on the Polish liner "Batory."

*Nikolai Skvartsov*

Skvartsov arrived in this country in 1950 to take up his position as political affairs officer in the Department of Security Council Affairs of the United Nations. He worked directly under Gen. Constantin E. Zinchenko, assistant secretary to the Soviet delegation to the United Nations.

Skvartsov left the United States temporarily in July 1952 and, a short while later, was denied a reentry visa when he attempted to return here to resume his duties at the United Nations. The denial was based on the ground that during his previous residence in the United States he had engaged in activities incompatible with his U. N. duties.

The United Nations terminated Skvartsov's agreement after receiving a State Department note which was not made public. Secretary General Trygve Lie, however, gave the following reasons for Skvartsov's dismissal:

1. He had broken United States laws by attempting espionage.
2. He had tried to engage others in his attempts to gather secret information.
3. He had carried on these activities under an assumed name.

*Aleksandr P. Kovalev*

Kovalev was second secretary to the Soviet delegation to the United Nations. On February 3, 1954, the United States Government declared him persona non grata. He left this country to return to the U. S. S. R. on February 10. Although the precise charges against Kovalev were never made public, it is known that he was engaged in spy activity.

*Rostislav Shapovalov*

Shapovalov was second secretary of the Soviet Mission to the United Nations. After Aleksiv Petukhov, an employee of the Soviet Mission, made an initial contact with Michael Shatoff, a Russian refugee seaman in the U. S., and tried to disillusion him about his future in this country, Shapovalov joined Petukhov in subsequent calls on Shatoff in which the two Soviet officials exerted "subtle blackmail and pressure" on him. Shatoff testified that he believed "they wanted to make me a Soviet agent."

On August 29, 1956, the State Department requested that Shapovalov leave the United States immediately.

*Victor Ivanovich Petrov*

Petrov was an employee of the U. N. Secretariat, working as a translator in the languages section. He had been recruited for this position in Moscow in 1953.

On August 24, 1956, the United Nations announced that Petrov had been "separated" from the organization under the U. S.-U. N. agreement which bars U. N. personnel from carrying on nonofficial activities in this country which constitute "abuse of the privilege of residence."

The U. S. delegation to the U. N. issued a statement saying Petrov had sought to get "information vital to the security and defense of the United States."

The Department of Justice revealed that Petrov had contacted an employee of a U. S. aircraft corporation after seeing an ad the man had placed in a metropolitan newspaper soliciting part-time drafting work. Petrov first asked the man to trace for him diagrams of aircraft which appeared in various commercial magazines. After obvious attempts to develop the employee's friendship, Petrov indicated to this man that he would pay large sums of money for information he might obtain from the aircraft company for which he worked. He also asked the employee if he had friends and acquaintances at the plant who needed money and were in a position to obtain company information.

Finally, Petrov gave the man a chart showing the specifications and flight characteristics of U. S. aircraft which contained blanks in certain instances, indicating that, in the interests of national defense, these figures could not be released. Petrov indicated that he would pay the aircraft company employee for filling in these blanks and persisted in his attempts to secure this information, even after the employee had pointed out that it was classified data.

It was then that the employee went to U. S. security officials and told of Petrov's activities.

Petrov did not even wait for his formal discharge from the U. N. He left this country for the Soviet Union on August 23, the day before the U. N. announcement of his dismissal.

## EXPULSED SATELLITE DIPLOMATS

Various personnel of the Communist satellite nations assigned to their embassies and consulates here, or to the United Nations, have also been forced to leave this country because of espionage activity:

*Christache Zambeti*

Zambeti, first secretary of the Rumanian Legation in Washington, was charged by the U. S. Government with attempting to blackmail a U. S. citizen, V. C. Georgescu, into espionage.

Georgescu, managing director and board chairman of Romano-Americana, Rumanian subsidiary of the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, had come to the U. S. with his wife on a business trip in early 1947. While they were here, the Communists consolidated their power in Rumania and nationalized the country's oil companies. Mr. Georgescu was advised that it would not be wise for him to return to his native land. He and his wife remained in this country and became citizens. They tried, without success, to get their two sons out of Rumania.

At 8:30 a. m., on May 20, 1953, Mr. Georgescu received a telephone call at his New York City apartment. The caller said he had just come from Rumania and had a letter from Georgescu's son. He refused to identify himself, but came to the apartment and showed Mr. Georgescu a photograph of the two boys which had this message on the back: "Dear Daddy, please do all you can to help us."

Zambeti, the anonymous phone caller and visitor, then identified himself and promised Georgescu he could see his children "within the year if you will \* \* \* collaborate with us."

Despite the danger to his sons, Georgescu went to the State Department with the information about Zambeti's actions.

After being declared persona non grata, Zambeti left the U. S. on May 30, 1953, claiming that the whole affair was "a dirty frame-up."

Three days earlier, doctors had ordered Mr. Georgescu to bed for a complete rest after he had collapsed because of worry over his sons. President Eisenhower intervened directly in this case and, in 1954, the Georgescu's sons were permitted to leave Rumania and come to the United States.

#### *Czechoslovakian Embassy Personnel*

On October 31, 1949, Dr. Erwin Munk of the Czechoslovakian Embassy in Washington, D. C., was declared persona non grata by the State Department. At the same time, four other persons attached to the Czechoslovakian Embassy—Teo H. Florin, the first secretary, and Dr. and Mrs. Syrovatka and a clerk named Horvat—were also declared undesirable and asked to leave the country.

This action on the part of the United States Government was based on information received from Joseph Molnar, a refugee Czechoslovakian writer and journalist, who had served as an undercover agent for the FBI while posing as a collaborator with the above-named individuals in their attempts to steal U. S. secrets.

Florin, the first secretary of the embassy, had contacted Molnar shortly after his arrival in this country as a refugee in 1946. It was through Florin that Molnar later met Horvat, Dr. and Mrs. Syrovatka, and Dr. Munk, who gave Molnar espionage assignments.

#### OTHER SATELLITE EMBASSY ESPIONAGE AGENTS

In the satellite embassy field, too, certain individuals have been permitted to remain in this country despite the fact that they have been exposed as having engaged in espionage activity:

##### *Col. Oto Biheler*

On August 29, 1948, the U. S. Consulate in Prague issued a visa to Colonel Biheler for his entry into the United States to serve as military and air attaché of the Czechoslovakian Embassy in Washington. During the three years he was here, Colonel Biheler made several trips to Canada and Mexico, as well as to Czechoslovakia.

Former Senator Herbert R. O'Connor revealed in November 1951 that, as a member of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, he had learned that U. S. intelligence services had established that Colonel Biheler had engaged in the following activities:

He had procured information on bacteriological warfare research being conducted by the Army center at Camp Detrick, Maryland. Through the Czechoslovakian consul in Cleveland, Biheler had

ordered certain bacteriological samples and received thousands of dollars worth of research material which he had sent to Czechoslovakia by diplomatic courier.

In December 1949 and August 1950, Colonel Biheler was engaged in procuring articles used in jet propulsion for shipment to Czechoslovakia by diplomatic pouch.

In July and August 1950, he was procuring for shipment outside the United States, and in violation of the law of this country, tubes used in proximity fuses of artillery shells and also geiger meters used for the detection of radioactive material.

He had also directed the procurement of information on atomic energy and U. S. uranium stock.

In addition, he engaged in a great amount of "legal" espionage, ordering from various governmental agencies all available publications on such subjects as strategic bombing, atomic energy, and captured German military ordnance documents.

Despite these facts, Colonel Biheler was not declared persona non grata. He returned to Czechoslovakia in early 1951.

#### U. N. AND DIPLOMATIC PERSONNEL IDENTIFIED AS ESPIONAGE AGENTS

Although it is not known publicly whether or not they have actually engaged in espionage while stationed in the United States, a number of persons attached to Communist embassies or U. N. delegations here have been identified as members or officers of the espionage agencies of their governments.

##### *Konstantin Nikolaevich Koudryavtsev*

When Ismail Ege testified before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, he identified the above-named person as a member of Soviet Military intelligence. Koudryavtsev, Ege said, had served as Tass correspondent in Turkey. Later, in 1941, he had been transferred to Moscow. From there he went to Canada, where he was involved in the Gouzenko atomic spy case. He was subsequently appointed to the Soviet delegation to the United Nations.

Ege testified that Koudryavtsev was an agent of the Fourth Section of the Soviet Military Intelligence and had worked under him (Ege) for a time.

Koudryavtsev is still a member of the Soviet delegation to the U. N.

##### *Pavel Mikhailov*

Ege identified Mikhailov as chief of the European Section of the Fourth Section of Soviet Military Intelligence, said he was a graduate of the Soviet Air Force Academy, and that he had gone into the Soviet intelligence service two or three years before he (Ege) had. Ege knew, without question, that Mikhailov had been a Soviet intelligence agent at least during the years 1938 to 1941.

It is known that while serving as acting Soviet consul general in New York City in 1945, Mikhailov was in touch with Louise Bransten Berman, a wealthy American woman who has several times been identified with Soviet espionage operations in this country.

Igor Gouzenko, the code clerk whose defection led to the exposure and breakup of the Communist espionage ring associated with the

Soviet Embassy in Canada, identified Mikhailov as head of Red Army espionage activities in the New York area.

#### POLISH AGENTS

José Swiatlo, the former secret police official referred to earlier in this report, has informed this committee that he knew of many Polish secret police agents who had served in free world nations under diplomatic or other covers. He was not able to name any presently in this country because, after his defection in 1953, the Communist government of Poland had recalled from foreign assignment in non-Communist nations all espionage agents it had reason to believe were known to Swiatlo as such.

In addition to naming a number of these people who had served in other countries in the past, he gave this committee information on two who had previously been stationed in the United States. They were:

##### *Jan Brudzinski*

Brudzinski had been an employee of the Polish press agency in the United States. Swiatlo said that this man was actually an operative of Department VII of the Polish Ministry of Security (secret police). Brudzinski was recalled immediately after Swiatlo defected.

##### *Marian Stecki*

Swiatlo could not recall Stecki's exact position in this country, but stated he had been a member of the Polish secret police since 1944 and, before coming here, had been chief of a section in its Department V. Prior to World War II, Stecki had worked for Soviet intelligence in Poland.

The woman who posed as Stecki's wife when he was stationed in the United States, Swiatlo said, was not his legal one. Stecki had married shortly after World War II and, two weeks later, his wife was involved in an automobile accident which left her legs completely paralyzed. The woman who posed as his wife in the United States had no such handicap and was perfectly well. Actually she had been his secretary when he worked in Department V of the secret police and was transferred with him, in 1950 or 1951, to Department VII.

#### FORMER RUMANIAN DIPLOMATS TESTIFY

In June 1949, three former members of the Rumanian Legation in the United States testified before a Senate Judiciary Subcommittee. They were Pamfil Riposanu, former first counselor; Mircea Metes, former first secretary; and Alfons Vogel, former press counselor. All were self-exiles in this country, having quit the legation after the 1947 Communist purge in Rumania. All agreed in their testimony that Communist countries use their embassies and legations for espionage purposes. Summing up the beliefs of the three, Riposanu said in his testimony:

In my opinion the Communist governments of all satellite countries use everyone—not only diplomats, every person, every chauffeur, every man who is sent here—for espionage and propaganda.



For various reasons it has never been possible for this committee to make a thoroughgoing check into the backgrounds of all Soviet diplomatic and U. N. personnel who have served in this country. In 1951, however, the late Senator Pat McCarran, as chairman of a Senate Immigration Subcommittee, made a list of 100 names taken at random from the names of several thousand representatives of Communist nations who had been stationed in this country and enjoyed the benefit of diplomatic status through their attachment to the United Nations or to Iron Curtain embassies and consulates.

He sent this list to the Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, with a request for all available background information on them. The reply from the Director of the Central Intelligence Agency contained the following information:

Thirty-two of the 100 diplomatic-status personnel had been "engaged in active work for the intelligence services of their respective countries."

Twenty-one of the 100 were reported to have been active in "Communist organizational work of an underground or subversive nature, outside their homelands."

Twenty-nine of the 100 were reported to have been "ardently working in subversive activities which—in the light of known Communist methods, must be considered to be \* \* \* against the interests of the United States."

Again, additional cases and evidence could be cited. Again, however, this committee believes that the facts presented in this chapter are sufficient to make clear to the American public the true nature of the many Communist diplomats who come to this country and, with big smiles on their faces, proclaim their devotion to "peaceful coexistence."

## CHAPTER V.

### IN THE SHADOW OF THE KREMLIN

Bribes, blackmail, sex, alcohol, narcotics and every other tool of Satan are their [the MVD's] stock in trade. Like spiders, they gradually weave a web around their victim, using his own weaknesses to help them, until he is completely at their mercy—and they have no mercy!

—Lt. Gen. Arthur G. Trudeau, Sept. 16, 1958.

Official U. S. representatives permanently stationed in, or passing through, Iron Curtain countries are subject both to attempts to recruit them into espionage through various devices—including blackmail—and also to being framed as spies even though they are completely innocent of the charge.

The framing of official U. S. representatives as espionage agents is usually indirectly associated with the Kremlin's spy activities in this country. In one sense, it is also a phase of Soviet political warfare against the United States. A situation arises which convinces the Kremlin that, for propaganda purposes, it must uncover an "American spy" in the U. S. S. R. or a satellite nation. Most often the situation is the revelation, by this country, that a Soviet diplomat has engaged in espionage here, although other developments, too, may prompt the framing.

Generally speaking, the Kremlin is insensitive to public opinion. It has repeatedly shown this by its calm announcements of cold-blooded atrocities it has committed—such as the murder of Imre Nagy earlier this year—even though it knows that news of these events will arouse bitter anti-Soviet feeling in the free world.

Moscow is very sensitive, however, about one thing—the exposure of its official diplomatic representatives as spies—because revelations of violation of diplomatic conduct on its part endanger its diplomatic ties with free nations. Inasmuch as the establishment and maintenance of diplomatic relations with all countries the Soviet Union intends to infiltrate and take over is so important to its plans for world conquest, Moscow naturally fears anything which threatens them.<sup>1</sup>

A fairly recent incident provides a telling example of how the Kremlin, when caught in an embarrassing position because one of its diplomats has violated accepted diplomatic conduct, tries to place the United States in an equally embarrassing position.

Shortly after an Iron Curtain diplomat was declared *persona non grata* for engaging in espionage while stationed in the United States, a U. S. embassy official in an Iron Curtain country planned a Sunday afternoon drive with his family into the countryside of the Red nation in which he was stationed. As required by law, he informed the

<sup>1</sup> The Special Committee on Communist Tactics, Strategy and Objectives of the American Bar Association in its 1958 report makes the following statement:

Diplomatic recognition is essential to Communist subversion. The Communist espionage apparatus needs the diplomatic immunity of its embassies and consulates to set up spy centers. It needs the unbroken seal of the diplomatic pouch to transmit orders to its spies and couriers and to receive back their reports and microfilmed documents.

appropriate officials of the Red government of his plans and made known to them the route he planned to follow in his drive.

When Sunday arrived, he took off with his family for what he thought would be a routine, uneventful, and pleasant drive. When he was about half way to his destination, he encountered a detour sign which he naturally followed. It led to another and then another, all of which he followed—until he suddenly found himself at the entrance gate of a military airfield.

As soon as he stopped his car, he was surrounded by guards who hustled him off to a nearby plane. There pictures of him were taken, "proving" that he had been caught in the act of spying.

When he was charged with espionage and declared *persona non grata* by the Red government—as he naturally was a few days later—the United States had no choice but to recall him, even though he was completely innocent of the charge.

The Kremlin, through its world-wide propaganda agencies, spread to every corner of the earth the story of how a U. S. diplomatic official had allegedly been caught in an espionage attempt.

Moscow has threatened an even more serious type of reprisal against the United States for action it takes to protect this Nation's security, i. e., for its expulsion of Communist diplomats caught spying.

On April 28, 1949, shortly after Valentin Gubitchev's apprehension in the Coplon case, the following statement appeared in Moscow's Literary Gazette:

The arrest in the United States of Valentin Gubitchev gives Russia the right either to demand satisfaction from the United States or adopt reprisal measures against American citizens or diplomats.

Through this threat it actually succeeded in interfering in the administration of justice in the United States. Former Secretary of State Dean Acheson subsequently revealed that he had recommended that Gubitchev's 15 year prison sentence be suspended—provided Gubitchev agreed to leave the country—because of the fear that if Gubitchev actually had to serve time in prison the Soviet Union would take reprisals against U. S. personnel stationed within its borders or in its satellite nations.

Since the end of World War II, over a dozen persons attached to the U. S. Embassy in Moscow have been expelled from the Soviet Union, usually on false charges of espionage similar to those made against the anonymous U. S. embassy official referred to above. In some cases, however, U. S. representatives have been expelled for other reasons.

U. S. Ambassador George F. Kennan was declared *persona non grata* by the Kremlin in 1952. On September 19 of that year, Kennan stopped off in Berlin on his way to a conference of U. S. ambassadors in London. At a news conference in Berlin, he told correspondents that contacts between the Americans and the Russian people in Moscow had been reduced to zero. He added that this condition reminded him of the lack of contact between the United States and the people of Germany which took place immediately after Pearl Harbor, when he and other personnel from the U. S. Embassy in Berlin were interned for several months.

Violent attacks on Kennan in the Soviet press followed his statement. Pravda denounced him as a "slanderer disguised as a diplomat" and claimed that he was guilty of conduct unbecoming an ambassador—a strange accusation to be made against a man who had so obviously gone to Moscow with the intent of doing his best to improve relations and contacts between the U. S. and the Soviet Union.

Despite the fact that these attacks on Kennan were considered highly improper and completely unjustified, they led, as expected, to his being expelled from the Soviet Union. Inasmuch as Moscow, at the time, was conducting an intense "Hate America" campaign and generally following a hard policy in its relations with this country, it was believed that this was the real reason for Kennan's being declared persona non grata.

John A. Baker, second secretary of the U. S. Embassy in Moscow, was expelled from the Soviet Union in May, 1958. The Kremlin charged that he had "systematically violated the norms of behaviour for diplomatic representatives" while attending Moscow University.

Baker, who had been taking courses in Russian history at the university, revealed after he had left the Soviet Union that he had become friendly with some of the university students, dined with them in public restaurants, invited them to his home as guests, and attended various sports events with them.

Baker said:

I can only conclude that my attempt to develop better understanding of the Soviet Union through friendships with its citizens is considered by the Soviets as a "violation of the norms of diplomatic behaviour."

(The Kremlin's expulsion of Baker for these actions is a revealing comment on its sincerity in regard to the stated purposes of the current exchange program.)

#### THE SERVANT PROBLEM

The possibility of being framed as a spy is one of the lesser worries of U. S. personnel attached to diplomatic missions behind the Iron Curtain. This is something they cannot do anything about, because it usually follows, more or less automatically, the expulsion of an Iron Curtain diplomat from the United States for complicity in espionage. Charges of spying may be made against any embassy personnel, although it is usually the military attachés who are accused, because it appears most logical that such personnel would be interested in obtaining secret information and there is, therefore, a better chance that the charge will be believed if made against them.

As part of its continuing, large-scale espionage activity, however, Moscow has set many other traps for U. S. and other non-Communist personnel stationed behind the Iron Curtain—traps which are a constant source of worry.

Servants are one means used by the Kremlin to collect information on these people.

Roy Essoyan was formerly Associated Press correspondent in Moscow. Shortly after his return to the United States in October 1958, he wrote an article on what life in the Soviet Union is actually

like, which was published in the Washington Star of November 9. He gave a hint of the servant problem in this quotation from his article:

You can't choose your quarters, any more than you can choose your maid, interpreter, or the color of your living room walls. Everything is supplied by the Soviet government, usually in its own good time.

Vice Admiral Leslie C. Stevens was Naval Attaché at the U. S. Embassy in Moscow from 1947 to 1949. In his book "Russian Assignment,"<sup>1</sup> he gave a very complete picture of the conditions under which U. S. personnel live in the Soviet Union. Writing on the subject of servants, he says:

No foreigners can just go out and get themselves a servant. All Soviet employees of any sort must be satisfactory to the Soviet government and registered with Burobin, the office which is responsible for all dealings with foreigners that come under the general head of housekeeping as distinct from diplomatic or military affairs. They tell me that every Russian employee, including servants and teachers, is required to report back to his government on everything he can regarding foreigners—their interests, their characters and abilities, and what they are up to. Too many employees have either thoughtlessly or deliberately told of this for there to be any questions about it.

Not only servants but all Soviet citizens who have contact with foreigners must be cleared by Soviet authorities. Roy Essoyan, in his previously mentioned article, tells of how he once called the Moscow telephone repair service directly after waiting three days for the appropriate Soviet Government bureau to take action. The city service informed him that its repairman could not do anything to help him because he hadn't been cleared to work for foreigners.

Dr. Nicholas Nyaradi, head of the Economics Department of Bradley University, was the last non-Communist finance minister of Hungary. In 1947 he was sent to Moscow to negotiate an extortionate claim of 200 million dollars which the U. S. S. R. had made against his country—and succeeded in having it reduced to 21 million dollars. In his book "My Ringside Seat in Moscow,"<sup>2</sup> written about his experiences in the U. S. S. R. during this period, he makes the following statement:

\* \* \* in Moscow, waiters, chambermaids, household servants, barbers, manicurists, cab drivers, stenographers—everyone—spied on us and reported our every move. Of course we knew about the elaborate M. V. D. system for placing us in certain rooms in a certain hotel and seeing that we were never too long alone and unobserved.

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<sup>1</sup> Atlantic Monthly Press, Little Brown, 1953.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas Y. Crowell Co., New York, 1952.

All domestic servants in the embassies of countries lucky enough to have embassies are hired from Birobin, the state employment agency, and their daily official reports on life in diplomatic circles are marvelously meticulous.

The day after a pleasant evening spent at Spasso House with General and Mrs. Walter Bedell Smith, General Merkulov amazed me by giving me a letter-perfect report on the night's entertainment at the American embassy. Who was there, what we had worn, what was said—word for word—what we had to eat and drink, and how much.

"It's a shame," General Merkulov said, pouring me a glass of cognac from a glittering Waterford decanter, "that General Smith, the Ambassador of the richest country on earth, must use a cheap white-enameled tin pitcher for his drinks." I was speechless.

The following exchange, which took place during General Modelski's appearance before the committee, reveals how—even in the United States—the MVD is continually digging up as much information as it can on diplomatic personnel:

Question. The next document is dated February 18, 1947, from the Polish Army to General Modelski, and bears the signature of General Komar. It is stamped "Top secret." General Komar in this communication states that information he previously requested concerning the characteristics of the attachés of foreign countries and their personnel had not been complied with and requested that General Modelski expedite the matter and send the material with the next mail. General Modelski, why did General Komar insist upon having information concerning attachés of foreign countries?

General MODELSKI. Because in my opinion they wanted to know the customs and habits of people to approach them. We have many connections here, and I remember that perhaps Colonel Alef has acquaintances with some. I am not speaking about behind the Iron Curtain, but Colonel Alef looked to get connection with some attachés from Latin America. Then they asked me to send all characteristics. In my opinion, he is very clever.

Question. In other words, General Komar wished to know if any of the attachés were favorable to the Soviet Government or Polish Government; if so, they might be able to assist you in the future in acquiring information?

General MODELSKI. Yes.

Through its intelligence agencies in this country, the Kremlin collects all possible information on American diplomatic personnel stationed behind the Iron Curtain. By combining this with information obtained from servants, who can watch nearly every move, and hear much of what is said in their homes, the secret police learn much about the character, personality, weakness, strong points, and personal lives of all Americans assigned to duty in the Soviet Union. With this information they are in a good position to know just who may or may not be approached and, in case of persons they believe may be susceptible, how best to approach them.

## WIRING FOR SOUND

Servants cannot be everywhere in the house in which they work nor in the presence of their employers at all times. Therefore, to supplement the information servants can obtain, the Soviet secret police make extensive use of concealed microphones and wire tapping devices which enable them to pry even into the private conversations and most personal affairs of American personnel assigned to Iron Curtain countries. The following quotation is taken from Roy Essoyan's previously mentioned article, "What's Life Actually Like in Russia Today?"

When an American arrives in Russia, one of the questions that intrigues him most is:

"Is it true that every telephone is tapped and every room wired?"

Every Westerner that I've talked to in three years in Moscow operates on the assumption that it's true up to a point. No one knows what point.

We assume the switches aren't on in every apartment all the time, just as we assume not every letter we write or receive is read by the Russians.

When you first arrive, they may be. If you keep regular hours and don't disappear in the labyrinths of the city for long periods of unaccounted time the watch is probably relaxed to a periodic spot check.

But Moscow's diplomatic cocktail circuit is full of choice tidbits on the latest bloopers of the Soviet secret police, some apocryphal, others verified.

The latest story going the rounds: A certain Western attaché couldn't stand the suspense of not knowing. He started ripping up boards and found eight finely wired microphones in his three room apartment—two in the living room floor, two in the living room ceiling, two in the dining room ceiling and, final insult, two in the bedroom. This story has been verified.

Admiral Stevens, in his book, confirms Essoyan's report. He makes this observation about how the Soviet's use of these devices affected his life and that of other personnel in Moscow with him:

There have been too many established cases of wiring for sound for one to feel comfortable even when there are no Russians about. One feels safe in talking only in the presence of noise, or when one is outdoors. It would be naive and foolish for a foreigner to fail to observe these precautions, whether or not he believes in their absolute necessity under all circumstances.

The following quotations from Dr. Nyaradi's book shed additional light on the extent to which the MVD uses such devices:

\* \* \* We suspected that our telephone calls were being overheard and quite soon after our arrival in Moscow I discovered this to be a fact.

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diplomatic immunity is a farce. When one of the new embassies was under construction, sixty concealed microphones were discovered.

\* \* \* \* \*

We drove to the Hotel Moskva where we were shown to my old suite, Number 516. Everything radiated friendship; "la Kontrolka," Anna Ivanovna, and Natasha, the little chambermaid, beamed a warm Russian welcome. Everyone was so charming that it was almost like coming home, except that when I walked into our bedroom, my foot struck an uneven spot on the floor. Lifting the corner of the red, blue and green striped carpet, I removed a newly installed microphone!

It is difficult for those who never lived under these conditions to realize the effect it has on those who must do so for long periods of time, and how they become subconsciously and continually aware of the presence of hidden listening devices. Admiral Stevens tells of a trip he made to Frankfurt, Germany, after being stationed in Moscow for some time. While there he had some business with another officer which was of such a nature that their talk had to be completely private. Admiral Stevens describes how the officer in question reacted to the natural precaution he (Admiral Stevens) took to see that their conversation would not be overheard:

It was not until the officer with whom I had to talk showed some mild surprise that I realized how natural it was to me to take him out into the open air for our conversation, where there could be no prying ears, human or mechanical.

#### TRAILING

U. S. diplomatic personnel, even when outside their homes or offices in Moscow, and therefore not under the eyes of their servants and within the hearing of concealed microphones, are still not free of the prying eyes of the Soviet secret police.

Essoyan wrote:

Western military attachés are the most closely watched people in Moscow. Every time one of their cars drives out of the embassy, one or more Soviet cars wheel out of a side street to follow.

Again Essoyan's statements have been verified by Admiral Stevens:

All of the officers living at both Spiro and Khlebnny are followed wherever they go by the secret police in plain clothes, to see if they are engaged in espionage.

After making this statement Admiral Stevens goes on to recount how one of the U. S. officers—

Every time he sees me \* \* \* tells me how he has been trailed, and how to catch them at it, for they never follow openly. One of the principal amusements seems to be to try to evade the slezhka. I have told my officers that the best thing to do is to ignore it completely and act normally, for as



long as they try to shake off their slezhka they give grounds for suspicion that they are up to something.

Soviet officials claim that foreigners are continually trailed by the secret police for their own protection.

As Essoyan points out:

There's a militiaman—Soviet policemen—outside every embassy and each of the half-dozen buildings assigned to foreigners, 24 hours a day officially, strictly for your protection.

He knows what time you come in and with whom, what time you go out and who comes to visit you \* \* \*

Admiral Stevens writes that this "protection" claim was advanced by Soviet authorities in Odessa to the U. S. attaché there when he asked why he was always followed everywhere he went. One incident involving this attaché, however, proved conclusively the falsity of official claims that the secret police trailed diplomatic personnel in order to protect or help them.

One night he came out on the street to find the tires stripped from his car and the thieves hard at work on the instrument board. Across the street, the Soviet car which always followed him was parked, and its plain-clothes men were sitting in it, idly watching the scene. Needless to say, he got no satisfaction from them or from his complaints at police headquarters, beyond the doubtful satisfaction of throwing the protective theory back in their teeth.

The close cooperation between the MVD and Intourist, the Soviet "travel" service, for trailing and other purposes is revealed in this quotation from Dr. Nyaradi's book:

I grew to know the M.V.D. well while I was in Moscow through the spying of the *dejournai* on our floor at the Hotel Moskva—whom we named "*la Kontrolka*"—the prying of Anna Ivanovna and the members, guides, and even chauffeurs of the Intourist office. My first suspicions of the connection of Intourist and MVD came when I discovered that, by a diabolical coincidence, no sightseeing tour, no opera evening, no shopping was ever planned for us on the days when we would be called by the Ministry of Foreign Trade for negotiations. Intourist always knew, sometimes weeks in advance, exactly when we would be called on business.

This constant trailing of foreign officials by the MVD serves a dual purpose. Unquestionably, in the minds of the Soviet officials, it is to some extent a security measure—one way of protecting the Soviet state from espionage.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In "Empire of Fear," Vladimir Petrov makes a statement which is an interesting commentary on Soviet officialdom's fear of foreign diplomatic spies:

"In all my twenty-one years as a professional State Security Officer, I never came across one authentic case of foreign espionage in the Soviet Union in peace-time.

"Yet, according to the ceaseless warnings of the Soviet authorities, Russia is so riddled from top to bottom with the agents of foreign intelligence that only perpetual and relentless vigilance saves it from destruction."

It also serves, however, as a means of collecting as much information as possible about all foreign personnel to assist in framing them on charges of espionage or blackmailing them into it if the opportunity ever presents itself.

#### LADIES IN WAITING

Ever since Delilah, acting as an agent of the Philistines in Biblical days, cut the hair of Samson while he slept—and thus deprived him of his strength—nations have used “Mata Haris” to help subvert their enemies. Moscow is using them today, just as it has used them on a large scale in the past, to try to blackmail representatives of non-Communist nations stationed in Communist countries into espionage.

Official U. S. representatives who have to travel overnight by train in Communist-controlled countries quite frequently run into an odd situation. When they enter the compartment of their train, they find it already occupied by an attractive woman who claims the compartment is hers—and produces a ticket to prove it. The conductor is called to settle the difficulty. He says he is extremely sorry about the “mistake” made by the railroad and will do his best to find different accommodations for one or the other party. Before the solution to the problem is worked out, however, the woman invariably indicates to the American official that, to avoid further inconvenience and difficulty for all concerned, she is willing to share the sleeping quarters with him.

It has been established that this device is used in practically every Iron Curtain nation. While, so far as is known, the Communists have never succeeded in blackmailing any American representatives into espionage through this device, they did achieve partial success in the case of one U. S. official who compromised himself in such a circumstance. Soviet intelligence agents then attempted to force him into cooperating with them under threat that they would inform his superiors of what he had done.

On February 21, 1958, U. S. Army Master Sergeant Roy A. Rhodes was sentenced to five years in prison and dishonorably discharged after being convicted by a court martial of engaging in espionage for the Soviet Union. Rhodes testified in the espionage trial of Colonel Rudolf Ivanovich Abel that he had been paid \$2,500–\$3,000 for information he had given to Communist agents when stationed in Moscow.

Rhodes had been in charge of the U. S. Embassy motor pool in Moscow from 1951 to 1953. He had a number of Russian assistants with whom he sometimes held drinking parties. On one occasion, one of his assistants brought his girl friend to a party. At a later party, in 1951, he brought not only her but another girl as well. It was a wild party at which champagne, vodka, and other drinks were downed freely. Rhodes confessed: “I became drunk and the next thing I remember was waking up in bed with this girl.” When Rhodes was later invited to the girl’s apartment, he was met there by two Russians who told him that she was pregnant. “They asked if I would go to work for them,” Rhodes said.

Rhodes, fearing exposure, agreed to do so. He gave Soviet agents information about his own duties, his code training, and about the habits and actions of other U. S. Embassy personnel.

A very recent case, which, fortunately, did not involve any U. S. citizens, illustrates how the Communists use women to entangle representatives of foreign nations in their espionage system. On November 19, 1958, a Swiss Army lieutenant, the son of a former Swiss infantry chief, confessed to a court martial in Zurich that he had given classified military information to Czech espionage agents and that he had received three payments, totaling \$117, for the information.

It was not merely for the money, however, that this officer had betrayed his country's secrets. He had visited Czechoslovakia in 1957. There, he was much taken by the woman guide provided by the Communist government for the tourist party of which he was a member. They shared the same bed. Last April, he again visited Prague to see her.

Although he knew she was a Communist agent, he believed "she was truthful with me." When she asked him to get a marriage permit and also exit visas for herself and her son by a former marriage so they could go to Switzerland with him, he readily agreed to do so.

When he approached Czech officials for these papers, he was told that he could get them and that his "sweetheart" would be permitted to leave the country to marry him only if he agreed to cooperate with the Czechoslovakian Government. His attempt to secure the papers ended up with his signing a paper saying that he would work for the Czech secret police.

His "sweetheart" never did get to Switzerland—but he, the Lieutenant, got four years at hard labor for betraying his country for her.

#### MAID SERVICE—SOVIET STYLE

Soviet diplomats and other officials stationed in the United States bring their servants—maids, chauffeurs, cooks, and so forth—here with them as a security measure. The United States does not do this. Domestic help attached to U. S. facilities in Communist nations, as previously mentioned, is hired locally through the Communist government. All persons approved for work of any kind with American agencies are carefully screened for loyalty to the Soviet Union and also for other qualities.

The other qualities sometimes include physical attraction. Some of the women assigned to U. S. facilities in Moscow as maids and those available as language instructors, for example, look more like contestants in a "Miss U. S. S. R." contest than like the typical house servant in the Soviet Union or any other country. They are obviously not chosen merely because of their work or language ability.

For this reason, there is a standing rule in the State Department that only married persons, accompanied by their wives or husbands, be assigned to the embassy in Moscow—and even these persons are briefed carefully before leaving this country on the attractive traps that will probably be set for them.

Forewarned in this way, American officials usually avoid entrapment of any kind. In one instance, however, a U. S. citizen on official business in an Iron Curtain country was compromised by a combination of Communist-provided maid service and an infra-red camera which takes pictures in the dark. When Communist officials attempted to blackmail him into espionage, he refused to cooperate and told his

superiors what had happened. It was necessary to transfer him to another post.

One of the dangers in the Kremlin's use of physical attraction was forcefully driven home in February 1948, when Annabelle Bucar, who worked in the information office of the U. S. Embassy in Moscow, married a tenor in the Moscow Operatic Theater, resigned her embassy position, and switched her allegiance to the Kremlin.

Admiral Stevens revealed in his book that he did not know Miss Bucar well, having seen her only once. The impression she gave him "was one of being a rather earthy person who would be apt to be more interested in men than in their ideologies."

He also reported that those who knew her said "she was seeking her happiness in him [the tenor] rather than anything else."

Miss Bucar's switch of loyalty was announced in a letter, allegedly written by her, which was published in Soviet newspapers. In the letter she claimed that she was giving up her American passport to find happiness in the U. S. S. R., which was the only country with conditions that would give ordinary people happiness. The letter was full of the usual Communist-line clichés, and U. S. Embassy officials were convinced that it was not her own composition but had been written for her by Soviet propagandists.

About a year after her defection a book written by her and entitled "The Truth About American Diplomats" was published in Moscow. Aside from the fact that Miss Bucar undoubtedly told the secret police all she knew about U. S. Embassy personnel and U. S. policy matters when she went over to Moscow's side, she also gave the Kremlin a powerful anti-U. S. weapon in her book which was played up by the Communist press in all parts of the world.

On May 8, 1949, *The Worker*, publication of the U. S. Communist Party, featured a full-page Telepress dispatch from Moscow on Miss Bucar's book in its magazine section—under the headline "Inside Story of a Spy Network."

The book was full of outright falsehoods designed to discredit this country and to help sell the idea that the United States used its diplomatic service primarily for intelligence operations.

Miss Bucar wrote in it that after she went to the Soviet Union and started working in the U. S. Embassy, "I found that I was in the front line of a spying organization." She said that Walter Bedell Smith had been appointed U. S. Ambassador to Moscow [in the words of *The Worker*] "after a long career in military intelligence work for the express purpose of organizing the Embassy as a vast espionage nest in which everybody from top to bottom was expected to act as a secret anti-Soviet agent." Miss Bucar described Elbridge Durbrow, Minister of the U. S. Embassy, as a "double-faced intriguer."

She also claimed that Robert Magidoff, Moscow correspondent for McGraw Hill and Exchange Telegraph, had been an informer for the U. S. Embassy. [Magidoff was expelled from the Soviet Union on espionage charges in 1948, following Miss Bucar's defection.]

She said that most people employed at the information office of the U. S. Embassy where she had worked were "trained secret agents," and that "couriers were sent to Vladivostok and Murmansk for no other reason than to spy."

She also charged that U. S. Embassy personnel, including Ambassador Smith, engaged in black market speculation on a vast scale—

and that some people made so much money doing this that they had never drawn any salaries during the whole time they were in Moscow.

Moscow's Operatic Theater tenor, by using his charm on a susceptible U. S. Embassy employee, obviously scored quite a coup for the Kremlin.

Admiral Stevens' experience with language teachers was most revealing of the manner in which Moscow uses women in its attempts to influence U. S. male personnel stationed in Iron Curtain countries.

Shortly after the Ambassador arrived in Moscow, a party was held to welcome him and Mrs. Stevens and as a farewell to the couple they were succeeding. At the party, Admiral Stevens writes, there were "several striking Russian girls who said that they were language teachers. I promptly and enthusiastically hired Nina, the prettiest of them, for a daily lesson."

Some time later, after she had suffered from a bad cold for several days, Nina informed Admiral Stevens that her doctor had told her that she would have to go to the Caucasus for a rest. The Admiral wrote:

Some of her recent remarks have made me wonder about her motives and though she is a beauty as well as a good teacher, her prospective departure came as somewhat of a relief. \* \* \* Perhaps they had decided that I was not vulnerable, but if that was the case, she had not tried very hard before reaching such a decision. There is still a good chance that she was actually what she represented herself to be, but in any case it is something of a relief that she is gone.

The Admiral's next language teacher was a girl named Elyena, the wife of a chauffeur at Spasso House (where the U. S. Ambassador lived). Elyena was a member of the Komsomolka (Young Communist League) and a girl who, the Admiral wrote, "knows all the answers."

After she had taught the Admiral for a time, he found that "it became increasingly easy to predict her reaction to almost any statement involving the Soviet Union or America."

Elyena was a well-schooled Communist, whose mission, if anything, was to work on the Admiral from the ideological and political rather than any other angle.

In November 1958, Boris Morros gave a U. S. newspaper the following statement, which is indicative of how thoroughly Moscow goes about the business of using sex to subvert and to compromise representatives of the free world:

I was given a tour in Moscow of a School for Seduction, where floor after floor was devoted to training pretty girls and attractive women in the ways of securing secrets and brainwashing their men.

Morros also stated that "beautiful young women agents" are being sent by the Kremlin into Latin America to use their wiles on political leaders and business men there.

In "Empire of Fear," Vladimir Petrov gives an example of how Moscow uses women for this purpose. When he and Mrs. Petrov were assigned to the Soviet Embassy in Stockholm, they had to travel in a round-about way to their destination because World

War II was on, and their route took them through Archangel. In commenting on the Intourist hotel there, Petrov wrote:

The local residents of Archangel were not allowed to visit the hotel, with the exception of two women whom we very soon spotted as N. K. V. D. workers. They were in their early thirties, attractive, and had better clothes than we possessed, though we had our kit for foreign service. They were not difficult to identify as N. K. V. D. workers, though of course we gave them no sign that we knew their business, or that we ourselves were N. K. V. D. I knew something of this "field work," which Nina had been engaged in for a time. In all Intourist hotels which cater for foreigners there are girls who act as guides and interpreters, and who are almost without exception either cadre or co-opted N. K. V. D. workers. In direct contrast with all other Soviet citizens, they are encouraged to spend time with foreigners in order to pick up information and intelligence.

Soviet surveillance of both its own citizens and of foreigners is so complete and thorough-going that it is frequently enabled to use sincere amorous feelings between foreigners and its own nationals for espionage purposes. Dr. Nyaradi, in his book, tells what happened after one of his attachés fell in love with a Russian woman who worked in one of the offices with which he had business. The woman came to Dr. Nyaradi with her problem:

Valya sobbed out her story: She had been so happy with our young interpreter, his Russian was so quaint, he was so sweet, so fine, so good, all she had ever wanted. Oh, she had tried not to see him, not to go out with him, she knew it was wrong, but what could she do? She loved him. Now the secret police had discovered her interest in this young Hungarian diplomat and had commanded her to extract all the information she could. They had threatened to take her child away and deport her unless she could bring them information. She begged us to forgive her, to send her lover out of Russia; she spoke at some length of suicide. It was a moving scene—a real Russian tragedy.

Angry as I was that this young man—one of the most sensible of all my aides—had got himself and this pathetic girl into so much trouble, I was deeply touched. They were sincerely in love, and now this young woman was about to pay a terrible penalty for a perfectly natural emotion. Against the deafening background of a gay csardas, I reached a compromise with the young man. We would give her some valueless letters, memorandums and documents—at least 99 percent of all papers in all ministry files are of monumental unimportance—and tell her inconsequential bits of information from time to time which she, in turn, could report to the M. V. D. So all concerned were happy—for a while.

Even the best-laid plans of the Soviet secret police sometimes go awry because they run counter to basic human instincts and motiva-

tions. Petrov reveals in his book why it is that the M. V. D.'s use of sex is not always as successful as it would like it to be:

The N. K. V. D. found this during the war with girls whom they trained and directed to become intimate with foreigners, seamen and others, for intelligence purposes. It was asking a lot. The girl would be taken by her foreign friend to a good restaurant and theatre and would have the best that foreign money could buy lavished upon her by an attentive and perhaps interesting companion. Next day, she would have to make a damaging report on her escort of the previous evening to one of our sour and cynical workers in a cold, bleak unfurnished office. It was found that these girls tended to lose interest in their work. Indeed, it used to be reckoned that with the first gift of nylons, fifty percent of the value of the girl's reports was lost, and the deterioration was swift.

Despite the occasional failures of Moscow in this field, it is unquestionably true that a considerable amount of vital intelligence information is secured by its use of sex as a weapon against Western representatives stationed behind the Iron Curtain.

## CHAPTER VI

### THE PERSONNEL ODDS IN MOSCOW'S FAVOR

One must take into consideration and keep in mind that in my time from among the Soviet citizens residing in Washington 90 percent were members of the Communist Party, but according to the law of the party, and speaking in terms of Lenin, every Communist must be a Chekist, that is, a secret police agent.

—Victor A. Kravchenko, testimony before House Committee on Un-American Activities, 1947.

The Communist empire has a huge reservoir of potential spies in this country. The U. S. S. R. alone has a total of 185 adult Soviet citizens attached, in one way or another, to its embassy in Washington, D. C. By way of contrast, there are only 85 U. S. citizens, not counting wives and children, attached to the U. S. Embassy in Moscow.

In addition, there are 257 adult Soviet nationals attached to the Soviet delegation to the United Nations in New York City.

This adds up to a total of 442 adult Soviet citizens, with official covers of one kind or another, who are in the United States and can be used for espionage purposes. This is *more than five times* the number of U. S. citizens serving with the U. S. Embassy in Moscow.

(Wives of Communist diplomats and embassy employees are included in the spy potential of the Soviet bloc because of the evidence that they, too, carry out MVD functions. Vassili Zubilin's wife, Elizabeth, for example, was an aggressive espionage operative while in the United States. In both of the Petrov's foreign assignments—Stockholm and Canberra—Mrs. Petrov served as an MVD agent, doing both cypher work and serving as a developer of, and contact with, native espionage agents.)

The great disparity between the number of U. S. citizens attached to this country's embassy in Moscow and the number of Soviet nationals in Washington is due largely to the fact that this country permits the Soviet Union to bring here all the employees, including domestic servants, it desires for its embassy.

The U. S., on the other hand, hires a large proportion of its embassy help locally, not only in the U. S. S. R., but in all Communist nations. In Moscow, for example, the U. S. Embassy employs 90 Soviet citizens. All are cleared for work with foreigners by the Soviet Government through the MVD, and all—as has been previously pointed out in this report—have the assignment of turning over to the Soviet secret police every bit of information they can obtain about the activities, conversations, and personal lives of U. S. Embassy personnel.

The Soviet Embassy in Washington, D. C., on the other hand, does not employ a single native American. If the 51 persons attached to the Soviet Embassy in Washington as "employees" were replaced by locally hired U. S. citizens, the disproportion between the number of



Soviet nationals in this country and U. S. nationals in Moscow would be considerably reduced, although it would still be significant (the Soviet delegation to the U. N. has with it 56 Soviet nationals listed as "employees").

The Soviet Union, with a population of roughly 200 million people, has what appears to be an abnormally large number of persons attached to its Washington Embassy. Comparisons cannot be made on the basis of population alone, but it is significant that India, with a population of 377 million—almost double that of the U. S. S. R.—has only 216 persons attached to its Washington Embassy, compared to Moscow's 306 (these figures include dependents).

Another significant factor—one that makes more glaring the disproportion in the size of the U. S. S. R. representation in the U. S.—is the fact that there is no "Iron Curtain" between India and the U. S. For this reason, contacts in all fields between this country and India are much freer and more numerous than with the Soviet Union. Yet, despite India's great size and larger population, it manages to get along well with roughly two-thirds the number of people the Soviet Union finds it necessary to have in the U. S. in connection with its "diplomatic" mission which, because of Moscow's Iron Curtain policies, has rather limited legitimate functions.

This condition is general so far as Communist-bloc nations are concerned. It is not limited to the Soviet Union.

The following chart, based on 1958 statistics, shows the sharp contrast between the number of U. S. citizens attached to U. S. missions in Soviet-bloc nations and the number of citizens of Communist nations serving here with Soviet-bloc embassies (these figures do not include dependents):

	U. S. citizens in U. S. embassies or legations in Communist- bloc nations	Citizens of Soviet-bloc nations in embassies or legations in the U. S.
U. S. S. R.	85	181
Rumania	20	58
Hungary	21	31
Czechoslovakia	20	48
Poland	44	77
Yugoslavia	68	73

<sup>1</sup>This figure does not include Defense Department and International Cooperation Administration.

#### COMMUNIST NATIONALS EMPLOYED BY U. S. STATE DEPARTMENT

The number of alien employees of U. S. missions in Soviet-bloc nations is of great importance from the security standpoint in view of the fact that servants provided for U. S. diplomatic missions by Communist nations are required to serve as informers for the secret police and are also used in attempts to compromise U. S. diplomatic personnel so that they can be blackmailed into espionage.

The following table, also based on 1958 statistics, shows the number of nationals of Communist nations who are employed by U. S. embassies abroad, compared with the number of U. S. citizens employed by Communist embassies in the U. S.:

	Nationals of Communist nations em- ployed by U. S. missions abroad	U. S. citizens employed by Communist- bloc embassies in U. S.
U. S. S. R. ....	90	0
Rumania.....	21	0
Hungary.....	43	0
Czechoslovakia.....	38	1
Poland.....	78	7
Yugoslavia.....	94	2
Total.....	364	10

<sup>1</sup> This figure does not include Yugoslav nationals employed by the U. S. Army, Navy, or Air Force.

These figures, particularly when compared with the preceding chart, give an indication of the serious security problem faced by all U. S. diplomatic missions behind the Iron Curtain. Not only do United States missions hire large numbers of citizens of the Communist country in which they are located, but, in nearly all cases, these MVD-registered employees *actually outnumber* the U. S. personnel assigned to our embassies.

Early in 1957, at the same time that the British Embassy in Moscow had a colonel of British intelligence serving as receptionist, the receptionist (and also the switchboard operator) for the U. S. Embassy in Moscow were Soviet nationals, obviously in the employ of the secret police. During that same period of time, the Soviet Embassy in Washington did not employ a single U. S. citizen, but the U. S. Embassy in Moscow was employing 135 Soviet nationals.

One reason why United States embassies in Soviet-bloc nations are staffed largely with alien help is because of the difficulty in securing adequate housing for larger U. S. staffs and the high cost of employing U. S. personnel there. In most, if not all, of these nations, food, clothing, and other basic necessities are extremely high priced by U. S. standards. Lower-paid U. S. employees would have a very difficult time living on their salaries in Iron Curtain countries.

The fact remains, however, that the conditions described in this chapter have a significant bearing on the success of Soviet espionage activity.

On the one hand, Communist diplomatic installations in this country have almost total security in the personnel field to protect the operation of the spy rings which work out of their embassies and legations. Three Communist-bloc nations do not hire a single U. S. citizen. The three others with which this country has diplomatic relations hire a total of only ten Americans.

In addition, the Soviet bloc has, in the employ of U. S. embassies and legations behind the Iron Curtain, a total of 364 of its citizens with information-gathering functions.

On the other hand, the United States defense against Communist espionage is compromised, both at home and abroad, by these same factors.

## CHAPTER VII

### MVD AGENTS—POTENTIAL ALLIES OF THE U. S.

[There is] no question but that there are Communist-sickened Russian officials and agents who yearn for an opportunity to break for freedom and to carry with them vital documentary evidence of Kremlin-directed espionage against the West as I did in 1945.

—Igor Gouzenko, October 1957

Much of the free world's most reliable information on Soviet espionage comes from former members of the U. S. S. R.'s spy services—not only from Russian nationals such as those quoted earlier in this report—but also from citizens of this and other non-Communist nations who once served as members of, or couriers for, Communist espionage rings—persons such as Whittaker Chambers, Elizabeth Bentley, and Hede Massing.

When Alexander Orlov testified before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, he stated that one of the best ways of obtaining information about Communist espionage operations in this country was through defectors from the various Communist intelligence services.

There was nothing startling in this statement. It was the kind of remark that any intelligent person who was at all informed on the subject of Communist espionage and conspiracy would make. What was startling, however, was Orlov's next statement:

I think nothing has been done in that direction until now. I know, because I was one of them, and I know what every Soviet intelligence officer feels.

Orlov, who had remained in hiding in the United States for 15 years after defecting from the MVD before coming forth to tell what he knew, outlined in his testimony the basic elements in an effective program to promote defection among Soviet spies in the U. S.:

(a) Defectors should be offered immunity from prosecution for past acts of espionage against this country. Orlov pointed out that U. S. espionage laws have been amended to preclude a statute of limitations. For this reason, anyone who has ever committed an act of espionage against the United States is open to prosecution. It obviously would not pay a Soviet spy or diplomat who had engaged in espionage operations here to defect if he had reason to believe that, even after he had done so and given to our Government all the information he could on Communist spy rings operating within our borders, he would face prosecution and a prison term.

(b) Bribes should not be offered to persons who defect. Orlov expressed strong conviction on this point:

\* \* \* Offering any money to a man of that kind would not be good because people who come to a decision, when they

have to break with their country, with their families, with their past which they cherished for many years, their participation in the civil war, in the party, and in the revolution, they will not be moved by money. They would feel insulted. They do not want to feel that they are regarded as traitors, and they do not want to be traitors in their own eyes.

At the same time, however, some assurance that they will be able to support themselves in this country should be given defectors. This may take the form of a guarantee of a job or assistance in getting started in a business of their own. The Communist diplomat-MVD agent who chooses freedom here, loses everything except the clothes on his back and such money as he may have in his pockets. He must start life anew in a strange country whose customs and language he often does not know.

This was one of the things that worried Petrov when he was debating whether or not he should defect in Australia. Australian security officials wisely made no attempt to bribe him, but at the same time—once they knew that he was favorably inclined toward defection—assured him that he would be given a sum of money that would make it possible for him to get started in business and guarantee that he would not find himself virtually penniless and with few job opportunities in a foreign land.

(c) Permanent residence in the United States should be granted to defectors.

The obvious reason for this is that it would hardly pay a Soviet diplomat or espionage agent to defect while stationed in this country if he had reason to believe that, after cooperating with U. S. authorities by revealing all he knew of Communist espionage operations here, he might face the possibility of expulsion from the United States and the necessity of finding some other country that would be willing to accept him as an immigrant.

(d) Defectors must be assured that their lives will be protected.

There is great fear of the Soviet secret police among all former Russian nationals.

Several years ago, at the time Communist diplomats and agents were doing everything in their power to persuade or blackmail ordinary citizens from Iron Curtain countries to return to their homelands, the Tolstoy Foundation conducted a survey of Moscow's large-scale redefection program in this country.

One of the general conclusions reached by the Foundation as a result of its survey was that "in general, the Russian community in America \* \* \* is fiercely anti-Communist, cooperative, and loyal to the United States."

Another conclusion reached by the Foundation, however—and one which highlights the importance of Orlov's recommendation that the safety of defectors be guaranteed—was the following:

Due to fear inspired by the Soviet secret police, many former Soviet citizens might become easy targets for Soviet blackmail, pressures, and provocation. The belief in the omnipotence of Soviet agents is widespread. The fact that many Soviet citizens had to change their names, date of birth and other personal data in order to escape to this country, makes them especially vulnerable to Soviet blackmail.

Free wheeling Moscow agents and spies, in other words—through the fear they engender—beget more spies and agents. As long as the United States permits MVD agents to intimidate, threaten, and beat (as they have) defectors in this country—and even to haul some of them off for return to the Soviet Union against their will—there is a serious gap in our security. The Kremlin's chances of recruiting additional (unwilling) agents is increased and this country's opportunities for obtaining defectors is lessened.

The Tolstoy Foundation's finding on this point has particular relevance to the problem of inducing defection on the part of diplomats and MVD agents who have been active in espionage. The danger and fear in their case is not that they will be blackmailed into serving Moscow—that is what they have been doing and are trying to escape—but that their lives will be ended.

The higher the position a man has held in Moscow's service and the more he knows, the more determined the Kremlin will be to catch up with him and end his life to prevent him from revealing all the damaging information in his possession—or to serve as a lesson to any others who may be thinking of defection. This truth, and the terrible efficiency of the MVD, is appreciated far more by Soviet diplomats and MVD men than by ordinary former Soviet citizens. Fear of what may happen to them if they defect is therefore greater.

Orlov brought out the fact that many Communist diplomats and secret police agents must live under conditions that make them eager to defect if only they can be assured that they will not lose their lives by doing so.

When they started their work, they honestly served their country—they were good patriots. But through decades of assassination of innocent people, of liquidations by Stalin of every MVD officer who knew his criminal secrets, through all of those decades there has been created an atmosphere, a psychological atmosphere, among the MVD chiefs and the intelligence officers of the Soviet Union, that each of them, at one time or another, usually during periodical purges, would be happy to quit and to start his life anew.

They say, for instance, that the life of pilots, aviators, is very short; but the life span of MVD officers is the shortest of all. In my memory, there was the chief of the MVD, Yagoda, his assistants, chiefs of all the departments—I was one of them—and they were all liquidated.

Then came a new prophet appointed by Stalin, Yezhov, who was Stalin's right-hand man. Yezhov recruited new men from the central committee, taught men, mobilized and created a new apparatus of the MVD, who started their work. Finally, it was unavoidable that those people that worked closely with Stalin learned about his crimes. Wishing to remain in history as the most pure, honest man in the world, Stalin could not let them live either, because some of them might have survived him and written their memoirs. So he liquidated them.

Then came, finally, Beria, a man whom I knew very well because we worked together when we were both young men. As a matter of fact, in the Caucasus in 1926 I was his senior.

Beria was a man who seemed to be the best man and most guaranteed man from any execution, because he was a Georgian, like Stalin himself, and very close to him. And finally we have seen that Beria, the new man whom he brought in the MVD, had been also executed, together with all of them.

Orlov emphasized the fact that most MVD agents are not volunteers.. They are drafted into the service by the Soviet secret police and enter it only because they are forced to do so and dare not refuse for fear of endangering their lives, as well as the lives of their families.

Orlov then went on to describe in further detail the fears of many Soviet espionage agents operating in this and other countries:

Mr. ORLOV. Now, I remember the time when I defected. When all the chiefs of the MVD had been executed, I saw my assistants around me—Kotov, who was also liquidated with Beria—I saw how they were shaking in their boots. But they did not defect——

QUESTION. Did you tell them you were going to defect?

Mr. ORLOV. No; I did not.

QUESTION. You said they were shaking in their boots. I do not understand. I am not criticizing; I am just trying to understand.

Mr. ORLOV. Yes, they were shaking in their boots, because we had conversation with one another, and if they did not spell out so-and-so much, you could always feel and know they were afraid to go to Russia.

For instance, I received word to go back to Russia. I received, for instance, an order to send my assistant to Russia, an assistant who was decorated by Stalin personally, and who had carried out great feats. He was invited to Russia to report to Stalin on the Spanish War. And then——

QUESTION. You never knew, when you got such an invitation whether it was for liquidation or for getting information?

Mr. ORLOV. No; we understood that it was for liquidation.

QUESTION. Oh, you did?

Mr. ORLOV. Because only 1 month passed, and we did not receive a single letter from him.

Then my other assistants would converge and say that something must have happened, and things like that. "He was an honest fellow—What do you think?" and things like that. And they were gloomy, all of them.

And when I received a telegram instructing me to go to Belgium and to board a ship, ostensibly for a secret conference where a top member of the party would be waiting for me, two of my assistants talked to me privately. One of them said, "I do not like that telegram."

When I asked him, "What do you think; what conference could there be?" about this or that matter. He did not answer me, and looked away. He was afraid to talk, but at the same time wanted me to feel that—and he said, "Why didn't he come here to Spain to talk to you?"

You see everyone felt danger, everyone actually was trembling.

Now, under such circumstances, every one of them would have defected. Some of them did not, because their families were in Russia. Some of them were afraid because, working abroad, they used to pilfer secret documents from every ministry in the world, and they were afraid that, after all, when they defect, they would be arrested and made responsible for espionage work which they conducted for the Soviet Union.

And the third point was, Stalin issued orders to assassinate defectors abroad. I can name some of the men who were assassinated during that time. One of them was Ignace Reiss. He was cornered and assassinated in Switzerland in 1937. You remember another man by the name of Krivitzky died mysteriously here in Washington. Another man by the name of Agabekov had been cornered 8 years after his defection and killed in Belgium. In the beginning of 1938, one was killed in Rotterdam, an underground agent.

Orlov also pointed out how the same fear of the service he had worked for affected him even after his defection:

Now, I was in hiding for 15 years, and it was really a miracle that I survived. As a matter of fact, I met one of the Russian terrorists in Cleveland. I mean, I have seen him; I did not talk to him. He was trailing me. But probably they would not kill me outright, because in my letter to Stalin I wrote that if I were killed, my lawyer would publish all the documents. And they would have to trap me, get me into some trap, and make me yield the documents first, before they would kill me.

In "Empire of Fear," Vladimir Petrov describes at considerable length the fear that he and all MVD agents have of what may happen to them if they turn against their masters in the Kremlin, and gives a few examples of what happened to some Soviet agents who dared to do so in the past.

Petrov was sent in 1937 to Sinkiang, the huge western province of China, for several months as a cypher clerk. Just as he was winding up his assignment there, a cable from Moscow arrived. It read: "Render harmless Agent 063, found to be a British spy."

Agent 063 was the Chinese Governor of Yarkand, who had been a collaborator with Moscow and (as the cable indicated) one of its agents. Petrov tells what happened to "Agent 063" as the result of this cable.

He was invited to the headquarters of the Soviet Mission and seized and bound as soon as he arrived. While he was being "interrogated," three wireless operators were digging a grave in the earthen floor of the corridor outside the headquarters. When the interrogation was completed, the Chinese Governor, bound and gagged, was brought outside and laid face-downward next to the grave. The engine of a truck in the courtyard was accelerated and under cover of the noise it made, three shots were fired into the back of his head. His body was then rolled into the grave and covered with gasoline—which was set afire until the body was burned beyond recognition. The earth

was filled in, trampled, and recovered with the bamboo mats which normally lined the corridor.

Another case involved a Soviet diplomat assigned to a Mid-Eastern country. At the end of 1938 or in early 1939, Moscow received word that this man was going to defect. It therefore became necessary to liquidate him. A cypher clerk from Petrov's section was chosen as one of the assassins. He was a big, unusually strong man. Another was chosen from the MVD's "highly secret" Administration of Special Tasks.

The two men were immediately assigned to the country where the ambassador was stationed. While the ambassador was engaged in conversation with them in his office one day, the cypher clerk from Petrov's office split his skull from behind with a single blow of an iron bar. The ambassador's body was rolled in a carpet, taken to the outskirts of the city, and buried.

Petrov decoded the cable that reached Moscow after these men had accomplished their mission: "Task carried out according to plan."

It is not difficult to see why the United States and other free nations, if they wish to obtain defectors who can reveal the inside operations of Soviet spy rings, must be able to assure these men that once they have come over to our side their lives will be protected and they will have nothing to fear.

Orlov was asked at one point in his testimony if the fact that Communist diplomats and MVD agents had wives and children back home would not deter them from defecting. Orlov replied that this was true in some cases but then went on to say:

But you know life takes its toil, and if you send a man and leave his family there, he knows he is not trusted any more—he cannot work.

They would be told in Moscow: "Well, you have children; we want your children to get a Soviet education; let them stay in the schools here," and so on.

But then in 1 year he writes he cannot work here, he wants to go back, and his work slackens—and it is not the same thing. You cannot send a man to risk his life and at the same time show him that he is not trusted.

So finally within 1 year, they sent him his wife and then they send him his children.

So, some of them who still have their families in Russia, won't exchange the safety and lives of the members of their family for a doubtful future in the United States. They just continue, they return to the MVD in Moscow, and just take a chance that sometime, somehow, not everyone is killed, not everyone is liquidated.

Orlov's testimony on this point is backed by statistics on Soviet personnel in the United States. Of the 292 Soviet nationals attached to the U. S. S. R. Embassy in Washington, D. C., for example, there are only 20 single adults. The remainder are all married couples (10) or couples who have their children here with them (74, with 107 children).

Of the 366 Soviet citizens residing in the New York area and attached to the U. N. there are only 39 single adults. The remainder, again, are Soviet officials accompanied by their wives and/or their children (26 couples with no children, and 75 with children).



Only one single adult is attached to the Polish Embassy in Washington, D. C. The remainder of the personnel is comprised of 7 couples with no children and 39 couples who have their children with them.

Dr. Nyaradi also confirms Orlov's testimony on this point. He makes the following statement in his book, bringing out another reason why Moscow finds it advantageous to permit its representatives stationed abroad to have their families with them:

The MVD is likewise fully aware of the temptations a Russian is exposed to when traveling in the West on official business. On a short mission, a Soviet official always travels in the company of other Russian agents, and his family is never allowed to accompany him. They remain as hostages.

When Soviet diplomats, however, are assigned for a longer period in the West, they are always compelled to take their families with them. The MVD believes that a jealous Russian wife can do more to prevent Ivan Diplomatoovich from falling into the web of some Western Mata Hari than a battalion of blue-cap guards.

While the potential Soviet defector in the United States must still think of his parents and other close relatives, it is apparent from these statistics that the great majority of them have their immediate families with them and need not worry about their safety in the event they decide to come over to the United States.

(e) A responsible United States official should make a public announcement of the preceding points to allay the fears of Soviet espionage agents and assure them that their defection would be welcomed by this country.

Not only Orlov, but Igor Gouzenko, Ismail Ege, and other former MVD operatives have testified or made public statements, expressing their conviction that a sound defection program would give wavering Soviet agents the encouragement they need to decide for freedom and become allies of the United States in its battle against Communist slavery.

This country would gain much by an effective defector program. Aside from the valuable security information that will be obtained for the United States, it is clear that the greater the number of MVD agents who defect and live to tell their story in the West, the more the general fear of the MVD that is prevalent among all nationals from the Iron Curtain countries will be lessened. Iron Curtain escapees will be made to realize that the MVD is not invincible and that they can safely defy the cajoling and threats of its agents who try to recruit them as spies without fear of reprisal against themselves and members of their families in this country.

## CHAPTER VIII

### CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The rulers of the Soviet Union respect one thing only—strength.  
The rulers of the Soviet Union have no respect at all for those whom they can intimidate or deceive.

—Vladimir Petrov, *"Empire of Fear"*—1956, page 341.

#### CONCLUSION

During the past summer, the United States tested a variety of nuclear weapons in the Pacific. Fourteen test explosions were officially announced. Although it is now known that a considerably larger number of nuclear devices were actually detonated, the exact total has never been revealed by this Government.

On August 23, 1958, however, the Soviet Union announced that the United States had set off a total of 32 nuclear devices in its Pacific tests. It gave the dates and times of the explosions. This Soviet announcement of the number of tests made by the United States was not quite, but almost, 100 percent accurate.

On October 8, 1958, Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko announced in the United Nations that the U. S. S. R. would continue testing nuclear devices until it had equaled the number tested by the West since March 31 last. The statement was a clear implication that Moscow knew just how many nuclear tests the United States and Great Britain had made since that date.

So far as is known, no nation has a foolproof nuclear explosion detection system. It has frequently been demonstrated that the United States system—believed to be the equal of any in the world—has detected Soviet nuclear explosions which the rulers of the U. S. S. R. have tried to conceal. It is also known, however, that the U. S. system is not perfect and that it is incapable of detecting even all those tests made by this country. Some tests can be, and have been, successfully concealed. A small yield explosion with a minimum of radioactivity released, defies detection by instrumental devices which are not sufficiently close to the scene of the explosion.

Hanson Baldwin, military affairs expert for the New York Times, writing in that paper on October 10, 1958, said that top Pentagon and Atomic Energy Commission officials were disturbed and concerned about the Soviet announcements of August 23 and October 8 relative to the U. S. nuclear tests—and that there were two reasons for their concern:

(1) The announcements created the false impression that the U. S. S. R. has a foolproof detection system [and is therefore ahead of the United States in this field], despite the fact that top Western authorities believe firmly that it does not have such a system and are convinced that certain U. S. tests announced by Moscow could not be detected by any device in the possession of the Soviet Union. The second reason for their concern is a corollary of this one.

(2) Moscow's knowledge of the U. S. tests came from espionage or a leak.

This committee believes that developments such as these, which cause concern among top officials of the Defense Department and the AEC, are likewise cause for concern among the American people and their representatives in the Congress.

The committee would also add these thoughts to those of the top Government officials, as reported by Hanson Baldwin.

While it is not beyond the realm of possibility that Moscow's highly accurate knowledge of United States nuclear tests is based on a leak rather than on espionage, it is nevertheless unlikely that a simple leak would result in only the Kremlin—and not some United States newspaper or columnist with good contacts in certain Government agencies—getting and breaking the information. Furthermore, if the leak came from a person who actually knew all the facts it would be 100 percent accurate and not off a bit, as the Soviet information was. A well-placed espionage agent, on the other hand, might be able to get most, but not quite all, available information on U. S. tests—and the data he would pass on to the Kremlin might therefore fall a bit short of 100 percent accuracy.

In his address before the American Society for Industrial Security on September 16, previously referred to, Lt. General Trudeau stated:

I say without fear of contradiction, that the advanced state of Soviet technology today is due more to Soviet success in espionage and subversion than it is to their scientific apparatus, good as it is \* \* \*.

I wish I could speak out even more strongly on this subject, using some recent cases we know of \* \* \* but I am unable to do so in a public address at this time.

Special weight should be given to the words of General Trudeau. As Chief of Research and Development for the Army, he is one of a handful of persons in this country with the most complete information available concerning the major technical and scientific problems in the military weapons field, of Soviet attainments in that field, and of the position of the United States vis-a-vis the Soviet Union in weapons development. In addition, General Trudeau, before succeeding General Gavin to his present post in April 1958, had been Assistant Chief of Staff, Intelligence (G-2), for several years. He was, in other words, the highest ranking intelligence officer of the U. S. Army and, as such, was in a position to know more about Soviet espionage in this country—and other nations, too—than all but a few other of this Nation's top security officials.

At a news conference on October 22 of this year, General Trudeau stated that "if the British had not sold the Nene Rolls Royce jet engines, there never would have been a MIG in the skies over Korea." He pointed out the Soviet Union has been able to capitalize on Western technical innovations more swiftly than the West itself because "they have a dictatorship—not only in the Kremlin—but in every field of endeavor." Moscow had learned a great deal, he added, through visits of its representatives to American factories, through the sale of pilot models to the U. S. S. R., and from manuals published in this country.

Appearing on a television program on November 16, General Trudeau said "There has been tremendous leakage ever since we

recognized them [the Communist rulers of Russia]," and "we need to tighten up our security everywhere." He said that there were three major methods by which the Soviet Union was able to make great scientific advances:

- (1) Through outright theft of our secrets, i. e., espionage;
- (2) The defection of Western scientists to Moscow;
- (3) By the purchase of pilot models through second and third nations.

Last year U. S. counterspy Boris Morros made the following statement:

I know from personal information and experience that Soviet espionage has made considerable infiltration in this country. Many of the agents working for Russia are important people financially and are often held in high esteem. Many of the Soviet's most active workers in this country, don't come from the rank and file, nor from the underprivileged. They are people who have the kind of contacts which will be useful to the Soviets and they are being paid to do their jobs of treason in the United States.

The committee believes that there is a dangerous tendency to underestimate the importance and danger of Soviet espionage as it is being conducted today. All too often, it is implied or openly stated that talk of the great threat which Communist spying poses to our security has a hint of "sour grapes" in it, that it is an attempt to cover up or excuse our own deficiencies in technological progress and to belittle the great strides the Soviet Union is making on its own in the scientific field.

The committee fully realizes the danger of underestimating Soviet scientific and technological capability. To do so would be to seriously threaten our security and very existence. At the same time, however, the committee feels certain that an equal threat is posed by any underestimation of the efficiency, broad scope, and importance of Communist espionage in the struggle between this country and the most deadly and powerful enemy it has ever faced. Espionage has played a vital role in keeping the U. S. S. R. abreast of the United States in the scientific and technological field and in giving it the opportunity to outstrip us in some areas once it has acquired our basic secrets.

There is no doubt that the Soviet Union, on its own, would have eventually developed atomic and hydrogen weapons. It is equally certain, however, that the Soviet Union would not have acquired these weapons until some years after it actually did so if it had not been for disloyal Western atomic scientists and spies—such as the Rosenbergs, Klaus Fuchs, and Allan Nunn May—and the defection of Western atomic scientists to the Kremlin.

Dr. Bruno Pontecorvo, one Western scientist who went over to Moscow's side, was deeply interested in cosmic ray research. When he disappeared in 1950, he was chief scientific officer of Britain's atomic research plant at Harwell and was doing highly important work on tritium, the key element in the hydrogen bomb.

On March 1, 1955, Pontecorvo revealed in articles in Pravda and Izvestia that, since his 1950 disappearance, he had been working in the Soviet Union with the Institute of Physical Problems of the Soviet

Academy of Science. It would be fantastic to assume that, when he went to the Soviet Union, he did not turn over to the Kremlin all the information he had on Western H-bomb development—and thus speed Moscow's production of that weapon.

Harry Gold, who is now serving time in a Federal prison for his involvement in the Rosenberg case, told the counsel of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, when he was interviewed after the Kremlin had launched its sputniks, that his Soviet espionage bosses, in asking him to obtain U. S. technological secrets, had said:

We can do it ourselves, but we haven't the time. You, by obtaining this information, save us time.

He also revealed that ten years earlier, Julius Rosenberg had told David Greenglass about a "closed vessel rotating around the earth"—an obvious reference to U. S. work on an earth satellite, and that Rosenberg had also given the Russians information on a U. S. anti-missile program and on an atomic powered plane.

In a July 1957 statement analyzing the techniques of Soviet espionage, Gold commented: "What an awesome respect they have for the technical ability of the U. S.!"

Not only General Trudeau, but others have stated that the U. S. could have launched an earth satellite a year earlier than it did. Statements made by President Eisenhower reveal that it was not lack of technical or scientific progress, but rather a failure to appreciate the importance of psychological warfare, which was responsible for this country's letting the Soviet Union be first to send an earth satellite into space.

Boris Morros revealed in a consultation with this committee that one of the last espionage assignments given him by his Soviet boss in a long, 16-hour session was one which revealed clearly that the U. S. S. R. lags behind the U. S. in many developments:

He explained to me that Russia had difficulty with supersonic planes, faster-than-sound planes. Their canopies are wrong, and their tires are wrong, and after unusual speed when they land down, they turn over and they lose the airplane.

Willard F. Libby, the only member of the Atomic Energy Commission who is a scientist, stated in a television interview on November 16, 1958, that espionage had undoubtedly helped the Soviet Union "a great deal."

The committee believes that these facts make it clear that this Nation can be apathetic and indifferent about the Soviet's spy network which operates largely under diplomatic cover in the United States—and that it can fail to take every possible step to end the operations of this network—only at great peril to our continued existence as a free country.

Boris Morros spent nine and a half years in the Soviet espionage system, serving as a counterspy for this country. In his appearance before this committee, he made certain statements which the committee believes no American can afford to ignore:

QUESTION. Would you say that as long as there is a Soviet system as it exists, there will be an espionage system throughout the world?

Mr. MORROS. No question about it. They live it.

QUESTION. One thing emerged clearly from our discussion. Namely, that the official Soviet missions in this country, as well as in other countries, are centers of espionage, and not only centers but the officials themselves.

Mr. MORROS. There is no question about it. There should be no question about it. As I told you before, there are no accidents in their activities. That goes on from top to bottom. And I would say officially even more so than what is hidden.

QUESTION. Would you like to close this record yourself with a statement with respect to your opinions and expressions as affecting the security of the United States?

Mr. MORROS. I would like to say that we have to do more for our security. The American people are not cognizant of the great danger that looks us straight in the eye. It is much more dangerous, and much more serious, than any of us can even imagine.

And we should start paying more attention to every little detail of what the Soviets are trying to do to us—and there is nothing good they ever have in mind for us. There is always great danger in anything they are doing, and it is mostly danger to our American form of life.

We should fight—all of us—with all our might against it. And continuously, not weakening in any way to fight that, because that is the only danger that we are confronted with.

#### RECOMMENDATIONS

This report is by no means an exhaustive study of Communist espionage in the United States. It does no more than scratch the surface of various facets of Moscow-directed spying as they affect the security of this country—and sketch the general pattern of some of the current operations of the world's largest spy network, the MVD and military intelligence services of the Kremlin-directed Communist empire.

The facts brought out in this report make it crystal clear that Communist embassies, consulates, U. N. delegations, trade and other missions have been, and are presently, used as legal covers for international Communist spy rings. There is no reason to believe that their use for this purpose will ever be discontinued by the arch conspirators in the Kremlin.

This report also contains conclusive evidence that the personnel of Communist diplomatic, trade, and similar missions is made up, to a considerable degree, of trained MVD and military intelligence operatives.

It also proves that Communist diplomats, in carrying out their espionage assignments, go far beyond what could be termed, in the most liberal construction of the phrase, legitimate collection of information—and that they resort to blackmail, terror, and other reprehensible techniques in their attempts to make their espionage activity aid Moscow's "beat America" campaign.

There is also some evidence that the Soviet Union is using the exchange program to assist its espionage objectives.

For these reasons the committee believes that, if the Communist onslaught against our free institutions and way of life is to be successfully repelled, it is urgently necessary that this country make an immediate and exhaustive study and review of all United States laws, regulations, and policies pertaining to the following matters:

(1) Prerequisites to admission into the United States of persons of diplomatic and semi-diplomatic status.

(2) Acts which constitute grounds for revocation of diplomatic and residence status of foreign embassy, consular, U. N., and similar personnel.

(3) The development and constant use by the United States and its allies (with whom we exchange secrets) of techniques for learning, through all possible sources of information, the identity of known operatives of the MVD and Communist military intelligence services.

(4) The employment of nationals of Communist nations in United States diplomatic establishments abroad.

The committee also recommends that careful consideration should be given to the development of an effective program to induce defection of Communist diplomats and MVD agents in the United States.

The committee also appeals to all citizens of this country to immediately report to the nearest office of the Federal Bureau of Investigation any approaches made to them by agents of any Iron Curtain country and all information concerning espionage, or attempted espionage, which comes to their attention and which they know is more than idle rumor or unfounded gossip.

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November 18-21, 1958**

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## PREFACE

In the pages which follow, the reader will find an analysis of the leftwing composition of the Fifth World Order Study Conference held in Cleveland, Ohio, November 18-21, 1958, under the auspices of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U. S. A.

The Cleveland Conference was made up of approximately 600 delegates, two-thirds of whom were laymen and one-third clergymen.

The interest of Circuit Riders, Inc., in the Cleveland Conference stems from the fact that the Methodist Church is the largest constituent denomination of the National Council of Churches. Furthermore, the delegates of the Methodist Church to the Fifth World Order Study Conference comprised the largest bloc in the Conference.

One-half of the clergymen who were delegates to the Cleveland Conference had previous records of affiliation with leftwing organizations and enterprises which followed the Communist line. Of the 106 delegates who had previous records of such affiliation, 39 were delegates from the Methodist Church.

Over the past 20 years, 719 officers (including staff personnel, delegates and representatives) of the Federal Council and the National Council of Churches have been affiliated with one or more organizations and enterprises of a leftwing character.

Of the 719 individuals having such records, 197 have been Methodist. A total of 131 have been representatives of all-Negro denominations—African Methodist Episcopal Church, African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church, Christian (Colored) Methodist Episcopal Church, National Baptist Convention of America, and National Baptist Convention, U. S. A., Inc. Sixty-one have been representatives of the Protestant Episcopal Church; 60, of the Congregational Christian Churches; 56, of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.; 55, of the American (Northern) Baptist Convention; 39, of the Disciples of Christ; and 120, of the various smaller denominations.

All of these statistical enumerations indicate that the leftwing Methodists have been a dominant element in the National Council of Churches and its predecessor, the Federal Council.

February, 1959

M. G. Lowman

The forces of appeasement, peaceful coexistence, and surrender scored an important propaganda victory for the world-wide Communist conspiracy at the Fifth World Order Study Conference of the National Council of Churches which was convened in Cleveland, Ohio, November 18-21, 1958.

The Cleveland Conference went on record by a unanimous vote in favor of the diplomatic recognition of Red China by the United States and the seating of that government in the United Nations.

The Communist press was jubilant over the action of the Cleveland World Order Study Conference. The recognition of Red China has been one of the major goals of the Communists' strategy for many years. They were, therefore, grateful for the boost from six hundred Protestant churchmen assembled in Cleveland by the National Council of Churches.

Although the action of the Cleveland Conference received wide publicity in the newspapers, it was not really news. It would have been news if the delegates had resolved against the recognition of Red China. The action was in full accord with the known views of the leadership of the National Council of Churches.

The Cleveland Conference was the legitimate offspring of the National Council of Churches and, as such, it faithfully reflected the position of the parent organization. This was not a case of the prodigal son's wandering away from his ideological home.

In fact, the top leadership of the National Council, officers and staff members, participated as voting delegates in the deliberations of the Fifth World Order Study Conference. The president of the National Council, the Rev. Dr. Edwin T. Dahlberg, was a delegate and failed to register any protest against the final passage of the recommendation on the subject of Red China. The general secretary of the National Council, the Rev. Roy G. Ross, and the associate general secretary of the National Council, the Rev. R. H. Edwin Espy, were among the Cleveland Conference delegates. Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, vice-president of the National Council of Churches and keynote

speaker of the Conference, was on hand. Altogether, eighty-eight officers, staff personnel, and members of the General Assembly of the National Council of Churches (1957-1960) took part as delegates in the proceedings of the Cleveland Conference. With such a sizable bloc of delegates in the composition of the Fifth World Order Study Conference, it is impossible to believe that the next session of the General Board of the National Council which meets in Hartford, Connecticut, February 25 and 26, can repudiate the recommendations of the Cleveland Conference without indicting and repudiating the leadership of the National Council of Churches itself.

The Rev. Dr. Edwin T. Dahlberg, president of the National Council, has assured the Rev. Dr. Daniel A. Poling that the recommendations of the Cleveland Conference will be placed on the agenda of General Board at the Hartford meeting. Twenty-five of the General Board's members were delegates to the Cleveland Conference.

Meanwhile, the National Council of Churches is preparing to launch "a nation-wide education and action program for peace to be carried across the 49 states from June, 1959, to June, 1960, starting with training institutes in summer conferences, then in state and local councils of churches and moving into every possible local church." The recommendations of the Fifth World Order Study Conference will be used as the basic text in this projected nation-wide education and action program for peace. This program for peace including agitation for the recognition of Red China, will be financed out of the treasury of the National Council of Churches.

The repercussions resulting from the recommendations of the Cleveland Conference were prompt and emphatic. The clergymen's committee of the Committee of One Million Against the Admission of Communist China to the United Nations polled some 45,000 Protestant clergymen on the subject of Red China's recognition. The poll produced the expected information that the World Order Study Conference did not reflect the views of the vast majority of Protestant clergymen in the United States. The ratio was about 10 to 1 against the Cleveland Conference. It has been known for a long time that the leadership of

the National Council of Churches is out of touch with the American people.

The Rev. Dr. Daniel A. Poling, editor of the *Christian Herald*, issued a statement in which, among other things, he said:

From this so-called representative body of the National Council, there is not a word heard against the continued pogroms in Red China; against the Peiping regime's continued enslavement of the Chinese peasants; against its continued imprisonment of young American servicemen; against its continued torture of our own Protestant Chinese; against its continued and unrelenting emphasis upon atheism, the first tenet of Communism.

The National Council of Churches has been accustomed to claim that it speaks for 38,000,000 American Protestants. The claim is demonstrably a fraud. The National Council speaks only for its self-perpetuating bureaucracy of leftwing Protestant Clergymen. Much of the American press goes along with the fraud that the National Council of Churches is authorized to issue pronouncements on U. S. foreign policy and other matters in the name of the 38,000,000 American Protestants who belong to its thirty-three constituent denominations.

Despite all the assertions to the contrary, the National Council of Churches is nothing but the continuation of the old Federal Council of Churches, with a slightly altered name and a few additional denominations.

From its inception a little more than fifty years ago, the Federal Council of Churches revealed a socialistic orientation in its policies, program, and sympathies. It was organized during the period when socialist ideology was creeping in the ranks of the Protestant clergy.

During forty of the past fifty years, the key figure in the Federal Council of Churches and the National Council of Churches was Samuel McCrea Cavert who served as general secretary of both organizations. On the occasion of his retirement last year, Cavert wrote in *The Ecumenical Review*, as follows: "The outstanding contribution of the Federal Council, however, was in the field of Christian

social witness and social action." Since the earliest days of the Federal Council of Churches, there has been a rash of social action committees in the Protestant churches. The personnel of the social action brigade constituted a dominant bloc in the Fifth World Order Study Conference at Cleveland. Their controlling influence at Cleveland accounts for the views which are at the basis of the resolution on Red China.

Hovering over the Cleveland Conference as well as all the other gatherings sponsored by the National Council of Churches was the spirit of Walter Rauschenbusch, the father of the social gospel. We have the testimony of two important witnesses to the abiding influence of Walter Rauschenbusch in the thinking of Protestant clergymen. In 1937, the Rev. A. W. Beaven wrote the widow of Walter Rauschenbusch that her late husband was "the greatest single personal influence on the life and thought of the American Church in the last fifty years." Beaven was once the president of the Federal Council of Churches. The other witness is the Rev. Henry Pitney Van Dusen, president of Union Theological Seminary. In 1957, Van Dusen wrote that Walter Rauschenbusch was "the greatest single personal influence on the life and thought of the American church in the last fifty years." The reader will observe that Van Dusen's tribute to Rauschenbusch is identical in wording with that of Beaven. One may wonder how this happened. The important thing about these extraordinary tributes is that Walter Rauschenbusch was a socialist. Harry Emerson Fosdick, writing the introduction in a recently published collection of Rauschenbusch's writings, states categorically that the latter "was a socialist." It is significant that Walter Rauschenbusch participated in the founding of the Federal Council of Churches, in Philadelphia, December 2-8, 1908.

In the year preceding the launching of the Federal Council of Churches, Harry F. Ward and a few of his Methodist associates who had embraced socialist doctrines organized the Methodist Federation for Social Action (originally Social Service). The Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security has cited the Methodist Federation for Social Action as a Communist-front organization.

Harry F. Ward was active in the founding of the Federal Council of Churches and was closely associated with Walter Rauschenbusch. In all the history of the Communist apparatus in the United States, Harry F. Ward has not had an equal in the dissemination of Communist propaganda among Protestant clergymen.

For at least ten years, Winifred L. Chappell was secretary of the Methodist Federation for Social Service. Writing in the *Epworth Herald* (Methodist weekly) of March 3, 1934, Miss Chappell counselled young draftees to commit sabotage and treason against the United States. In her advice to these young Americans, she wrote the following: "Accept the draft, take the drill, go into the camps and onto the battlefield, or into the munitions factories and transportation work—but sabotage war preparations and war. Be agitators for sabotage. Down tools when the order is to make and load munitions. Spoil war materials and machinery."

Right down to the present time (February 1959), the Methodist Federation for Social Action carries the following statement on the masthead of its monthly publication, *Social Questions Bulletin*: "The Federation rejects the method of the struggle for profit as the economic base for society and seeks to replace it with social-economic planning to develop a society without class or group discriminations and privileges."

One final item of evidence will suffice to remove all doubt concerning the ideological position of the Methodist Federation for Social Action. The Rev. Edgar N. Jackson wrote an article which was published in *The Worker* (Communist Party Weekly) of May 17, 1936. Jackson is a Methodist clergyman who was, and still is, an active member of the Methodist Federation for Social Action. In his article published in the Communist Party's paper, Jackson stated that the program of the Methodist Federation for Social Service had been submitted to Lenin and that he had given it his approval.

### **Cleveland Delegates and the Methodist Federation**

Among the social actionists who were present at the Fifth World Order Study Conference, several have been affiliated with the Methodist Federation for Social Action:

Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, former president of the Federal Council of Churches, was at one time the vice-president of the Methodist Federation.

Charles C. Webber, Washington official of the AFL-CIO, was one of the secretaries of the Methodist Federation.

Thelma Stevens, executive secretary, Woman's Division of Christian Service, Methodist Church, was recording secretary of the Methodist Federation for a number of years.

Dorothy McConnell, editor of the Methodist monthly *World Outlook*, was a member of the Methodist Federation.

Hiel D. Bollinger, director of the Division of Educational Institutions, Board of Education, Methodist Church, has been affiliated with the Methodist Federation.

Harold A. Bosley, Methodist pastor in Evanston and host to the World Council of Churches in 1954, has been active in the Methodist Federation.

Charles F. Boss, executive secretary for the United Nations and Intergovernmental Affairs, Board of World Peace, Methodist Church, has been affiliated with the Methodist Federation for Social Action.

James P. Brawley, president of Clark College, has been a member of the Methodist Federation.

T. T. Brumbaugh, executive secretary for East Asia, Division of World Missions, Methodist Church, was affiliated with the Methodist Federation.

Alva I. Cox, executive secretary, Northeast Ohio Conference Board of Education, Methodist Church, has been a member of the Methodist Federation.

Wilbur D. Grose, executive secretary, Minnesota Council of Churches, has been affiliated with the Methodist Federation.

Garland E. Hopkins, executive vice-president, American Friends of the Middle East, has been a member of the Methodist Federation.

Among the Cleveland Conference delegates who were also on the membership rolls of the Methodist Federation for Social Action, we find the following:

Jameson Jones, editor of the monthly Methodist magazine *Motive*, Nashville, Tennessee.

Bishop W. Earl Ledden, vice-president, Board of Evangelism, Methodist Church, Nashville, Tennessee (Episcopal residence, Syracuse, New York).

John E. Marvin, editor of the weekly Methodist magazine *Michigan Christian Advocate*, Adrian, Michigan.

Marshall R. Reed, president, Board of Pensions, Methodist Church, Chicago (Episcopal residence, Detroit, Michigan).

Ralph W. Sockman, New York pastor, president, Board of World Peace, Methodist Church.

Carl D. Soule, field secretary, Board of World Peace, Methodist Church, New York, N. Y.

Daniel E. Taylor, executive secretary, Administration and Promotion, Board of World Peace, Methodist Church.

### **Supporters of the Communist "Peace" Offensive**

The House Committee on Un-American Activities has published a special report entitled *The Communist "Peace" Offensive* subtitled "A Campaign to Disarm and Defeat the United States." The extent to which members of the Protestant clergy supported this subversive movement, aimed at the very existence of the United States, is an alarming phenomenon. In their report, the congressmen stated: "The Committee on Un-American Activities has observed with dismay the inordinately large proportion of clerics among the persons who are aiding and supporting the current Communist 'peace' campaign in this country."

The House Committee listed the names of the organizations through which the Communist "peace" offensive was conducted and the names of the individuals who supported them. The names of 512 Protestant clergymen and 42 Jewish rabbis are listed. The House Committee recorded the fact that the Rev. Edwin T. Dahlberg was one of a



committee of five which initiated the formation of one of the front organizations in the Communist "peace" campaign, the Committee for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact. This is the only instance in Communist-front history where the role of founder was played by a president of the National Council of Churches.

Other delegates at the Fifth World Order Study Conference who, according to public records, supported the fake peace campaign of the Communists are as follows:

Desmond W. Bittinger, editor of *Gospel Messenger*, Church of the Brethren; Hiel D. Bollinger, Board of Education, Methodist Church; Harold A. Bosley, Methodist pastor; Charles F. Boss, Board of World Peace, Methodist Church; Thoburn T. Brumbaugh, Division of World Missions, Methodist Church; Bishop Matthew W. Clair, Jr., Methodist Church; Ray Gibbons, Council for Social Action, Congregational Christian Churches; Frank P. Graham, former president of the University of North Carolina and former United States senator; J. Clinton Hoggard, editor of *Missionary Seer*, African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church; Fred Hoskins, secretary, Congregational Christian Churches; Mordecai Johnson, president of Howard University; Jameson Jones, editor of *motive*, Methodist Church; Harold L. Lunger, Disciples of Christ; John A. Mackay, former moderator of Presbyterian Church, U. S. A.; John E. Marvin, editor of *Michigan Christian Advocate*, Methodist Church; Benjamin E. Mays, president of Morehouse College, American Baptist Convention; Dorothy McConnell, editor of *World Outlook*, Methodist Church; Robert W. Moon, Methodist Church; A. J. Muste, secretary of Church Peace Mission, Presbyterian Church, U. S. A.; J. O. Nelson, executive secretary, Iowa Council of Churches; Everett Palmer, Methodist Church; Herman F. Reissig, Council for Christian Social Action, United Church of Christ; Walter W. Sikes, Disciples of Christ; Carl D. Soule, Board of World Peace, Methodist Church; Wray W. Stickford, Methodist Church; Stanley I. Stuber, Council of Churches of Greater Kansas City; Alfred W. Swan, Congregational Christian Churches; Hugo W. Thompson, United Church of Christ; Charles C. Webber, Methodist

Church; Howell O. Wilkins, Methodist Church; Bishop R. R. Wright, Jr., African Methodist Episcopal Church.

### **Communist Junket to Yugoslavia**

A few years ago, when Tito's government was still in orbit as a satellite of the Kremlin, a group of seven American clergymen was invited to visit Yugoslavia—all expenses paid by Tito. At least five of the seven clergymen who comprised the delegation were known members of the Communist Party or veteran collaborators with Communism in the United States. Claude Williams and William Howard Melish were members of the Communist Party, and Emery Guy Shipler, Emory Bucke, and Phillips Packer Elliott were fellow travelers.

The seven-man delegation brought back a report which was a complete whitewash of the Tito Communist regime. The report was printed and distributed under the sponsorship of a large group of Protestant clergymen. Included in this group of sponsors were the following delegates who were present at the Fifth World Order Study Conference in Cleveland:

Ralph C. Abele, Evangelical and Reformed Church

Harold A. Bosley, Methodist Church

Charles F. Boss, Methodist Church

Thoburn T. Brumbaugh, Methodist Church

George W. Buckner, editor of *World Call*, a member of the seven-man delegation, Disciples of Christ

Roy Burkhart, Community Church, Columbus, Ohio

Hunsdon Cary, Jr., Protestant Episcopal Church

Bishop Matthew W. Clair, Jr., Methodist Church

Alva I. Cox, Methodist Church

Edwin T. Dahlberg, American Baptist Convention

Gardiner M. Day, Protestant Episcopal Church

Myron W. Fowell, Congregational Christian Churches

Wilbur D. Grose, Methodist Church

Vernon H. Holloway, Congregational Christian Churches

Fred Hoskins, Congregational Christian Churches

Samuel Guy Inman, Disciples of Christ

Huber F. Klemme, United Church of Christ

Louis H. Lammert, Evangelical and Reformed Church  
Paul L. Lehmann, Presbyterian Church, U. S. A.  
Harold L. Lunger, Disciples of Christ  
John A. Mackay, Presbyterian Church, U. S. A.  
John H. Marion, Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.  
Raphael H. Miller, Disciples of Christ  
Robert W. Moon, Methodist Church  
Bishop D. Ward Nichols, African Methodist Episcopal  
Church  
Hubert C. Noble, National Council of Churches  
Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, Methodist Church  
Frederick E. Reissig, Washington (D. C.) Council of  
Churches  
Herman F. Reissig, Council for Christian Social Action  
Walter W. Sikes, Disciples of Christ  
Ralph W. Sockman, Board of World Peace, Methodist  
Church  
Ralph Stooddy, Methodist Church  
Stanley I. Stuber, American Baptist Convention  
Daniel E. Taylor, Methodist Church  
Hugo W. Thompson, United Church of Christ

### **Nuclear-Weapons Tests and A. J. Muste**

For centuries pacifists of many kinds have conducted their propaganda campaigns around the horror of war. To the actualities of war, which are bad enough, pacifists have added their own particular speculation: namely, that the *next war* would spell the end of civilization.

In the present era, Communists have found pacifist activity and propaganda very much to their liking. As long as such activity affects only the peoples of non-Communist countries, Communists would like to see pacifism become the dominant mood throughout the so-called free world. Toward this end, Communists and pro-Communists give all the encouragement possible to every pacifist organization that sentimental clergymen may wish to set up in the United States.

Among the thousands of Protestant clergymen who have joined or otherwise supported the long list of Communist

"peace" fronts during the past forty years, one name stands out above all the others; namely, A. J. Muste. This Holland-born Presbyterian clergyman and agitator, now in his seventy-fifth year, is the undisputed Dean of American Leftwing Activity. Muste was a delegate to the Fifth World Order Study Conference at Cleveland. Muste's credentials, if he has any, are his life-long dedication to undermining the security of his adopted land.

Two years ago, A. J. Muste got up a delegation for the purpose of "observing" the procedures of the Communist Party's 16th National Convention, February 9-12, 1957. The press was barred from the deliberations of the leading Communists, but Muste and his fellow "observers" were cordially welcomed. In their formal report to the American people, Muste's delegation found "that the sessions of the Convention were democratically conducted." Whether the Communist conspirators conspired democratically or un-democratically is about as important as the color of their hair—except to the mentality of an A. J. Muste.

The work of the Muste delegation drew the following comment from Mr. J. Edgar Hoover:

The Communists boasted of having "impartial observers cover the convention. However, most of these so-called impartial observers were handpicked before the convention started and were reportedly headed by A. J. Muste, who has long fronted for Communists . . . Muste's report on the convention was biased, as could be expected.

A. J. Muste has described his recent activity in the following words: "Thus in this summer of 1957 I am occupied with problems relating to the attitude of the churches toward nuclear war . . ."

Muste has been highly successful in recruiting outstanding Protestant clergymen for agitation on the subject of nuclear weapons. The following delegates to the Fifth World Order Study Conference have been involved in this type of agitation: John C. Bennett, Harold A. Bosley, Roy Burkhart, Edwin T. Dahlberg, Ralph D. Hyslop, Homer A. Jack, Louis H. Lammert, Paul L. Lehmann, John A. Mackay, Robert W. Moon, G. Bromley Oxnam, W. Harold Row,

Culbert Rutenber, Walter W. Sikes, B. Julian Smith, Ralph W. Sockman, Carl D. Soule, Alfred W. Swan, and Daniel E. Taylor. To this list must be added the name of the Quaker layman, Clarence E. Pickett.

## **Fellowship of Reconciliation**

The largest leftwing pacifist group in the United States is the Fellowship of Reconciliation. For years, A. J. Muste was the executive secretary of this organization.

The Fellowship of Reconciliation claims to have been the parent of many leftwing organizations which have worked to further the interests of the Communist conspiracy in the United States. In its official history, the Fellowship has the following to say about itself: "Out of its activities and the concerns of its members and committees have grown such diverse organizations as the National Conference of Christians and Jews, the American Civil Liberties Union, the Religion and Labor Foundation, the Workers Defense League, the Committee on Militarism in Education, the Congress on Racial Equality, the National Council Against Conscription, the Society for Social Responsibility in Science, the Church Peace Mission, and most recently, the American Committee on Africa."

The Fellowship of Reconciliation is officially on record as urging its members to join "political movements which aim at the replacement of private capitalism by a system of collective ownership." This broad category is enough to include the Communist movement as well as the Socialist.

The current and official apparatus of the Fellowship was well represented in the composition of the Cleveland Conference of the National Council of Churches. From the early years of the Federal Council of Churches, its personnel was extensively interlocked with that of the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

The following delegates who were present at the Cleveland Conference are currently listed as officially connected with the Fellowship of Reconciliation in the latter's publications:

Heil D. Bollinger, accredited representative of the Fellowship of Methodist Pacifists to the FOR

Harold A. Bosley, member of the FOR advisory council  
 Charles F. Boss, member of the FOR advisory council  
 Edwin T. Dahlberg, member of the FOR advisory council  
 Barton Hunter, accredited representative of the Disciples Peace Fellowship to the FOR  
 Jameson Jones, editorial contributor of *Fellowship*, official magazine of the FOR  
 A. J. Muste, secretary emeritus of the FOR  
 Clarence E. Pickett, member of the FOR advisory council, winner of the Nobel Peace Prize  
 Culbert G. Rutenber, member of the FOR national council  
 John M. Swomley, Jr., co-secretary of the FOR  
 Herman Will, Jr., member of the FOR national council

### **Church Peace Mission and the Cleveland Conference**

The Church Peace Mission, currently headed by A. J. Muste, was represented at the Cleveland Conference in the following delegates:

John C. Bennett, Dean of Union Theological Seminary  
 Harold A. Bosley, Methodist Church  
 Edwin T. Dahlberg, President of the National Council of Churches  
 Milton H. Hadley, Five Years Meeting of Friends  
 Ralph D. Hyslop, Union Theological Seminary  
 Louis H. Lammert, Evangelical and Reformed Church  
 Paul L. Lehmann, Harvard Divinity School  
 John A. Mackay, former Moderator, Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.  
 Robert W. Moon, Methodist Church  
 A. J. Muste, secretary emeritus, Fellowship of Reconciliation  
 Clarence E. Pickett, former head, American Friends Service Committee  
 W. Harold Row, Church of the Brethren  
 Culbert G. Rutenber, American Baptist Convention  
 J. Harold Sherk, National Service Board for Religious Objectors

Walter W. Sikes, Disciples of Christ

Bishop B. Julian Smith, Christian Methodist Episcopal Church

Ralph W. Sockman, Methodist Church

John M. Swomley, Jr., Methodist Church

Herman Will, Jr., Methodist Church

The Church Peace Mission has been specially involved with the question of nuclear-weapons tests.

### **Union Theological Seminary and Cleveland**

The *Alumni Bulletin* of Union Theological Seminary boasted recently of "Union Seminary's prominence in the ecumenical movement." The *Alumni Bulletin* referred specifically to the International Missionary Council and to the Amsterdam (1948) and Evanston (1954) Assemblies of the World Council of Churches. The same prominence of Union Theological Seminary is to be found in the National Council of Churches and the conferences which are convened under its auspices.

What Union does not boast is the fact that the Seminary has attained overwhelming prominence in the Communist-front apparatus and its activities. More than five hundred faculty and alumni members of Union Theological Seminary, have been publicly identified as supporters of Communist fronts.

At both the Amsterdam and Evanston Assemblies of the World Council of Churches, Professor John C. Bennett, Dean of Faculty of Union Theological Seminary, was the key figure in the debate on resolutions. Dean Bennett was chairman of the 23-man committee which drafted the resolutions adopted unanimously at the Fifth World Order Study Conference at Cleveland.

In the major speech at the International Congregational Council, on July 4, 1958, Dean Bennett called upon the Christian churches in the West "to stop the continuous expressions of national and religious hostility to Communists and Communist nations." Dean Bennett's words of July 4, 1958, presaged the adoption of the resolution on Red China by the Cleveland Conference a few months later.

Union Theological Seminary was represented at the Fifth World Order Study Conference by the following delegates who were affiliated with the Seminary as members of the faculty or former students:

R. Pierce Beaver, Evangelical and Reformed  
John C. Bennett, Congregational Christian  
Thoburn T. Brumbaugh, Methodist  
Richard O. Comfort, Presbyterian, U.S.A.  
Rufus Cornelsen, United Lutheran  
Gardiner M. Day, Protestant Episcopal  
Robert H. E. Espy, American Baptist  
George W. Forell, United Lutheran  
Myron W. Fowell, Congregational Christian  
Theodore E. Frank, United Church of Christ  
Ray Gibbons, Congregational Christian  
Cameron P. Hall, Presbyterian, U.S.A.  
J. Clinton Hoggard, African Methodist Episcopal Zion  
E. M. Howse, United Church of Canada  
Ralph D. Hyslop, Congregational Christian  
Samuel Guy Inman, Disciples of Christ  
Jacob Stuart Innerst, Five Years Meeting of Friends  
Clarence E. Josephson, Evangelical and Reformed  
John B. Ketcham, American Baptist  
Huber F. Klemme, Evangelical and Reformed  
Paul L. Lehmann, Presbyterian, U.S.A.  
Harold C. Letts, United Lutheran  
Wallace C. Merwin, Presbyterian, U.S.A.  
A. J. Muste, Presbyterian, U.S.A.  
James Ralph Mutchmor, United Church of Canada  
Hubert C. Noblé, Presbyterian, U.S.A.  
Benjamin R. Oliphint, Methodist  
Walter A. Riddell, United Church of Canada  
David H. Sandstrom, Congregational Christian  
Walter W. Sikes, Disciples of Christ  
Ralph W. Sockman, Methodist  
Alfred W. Swan, Congregational Christian  
Theodore L. Tucker, United Church of Canada



Gaither P. Warfield, Methodist  
Charles C. Webber, Methodist  
M. Moran Weston, Protestant Episcopal  
Edward L. Whittemore, Presbyterian, U.S.A.  
Frank T. Wilson, Presbyterian, U.S.A.

### **Communist Campaign for the Rosenbergs**

One of the most intensive nation-wide campaigns ever conducted by the Communists in the United States was organized around the case of the Rosenbergs (Julius and Ethel) and Morton Sobell. Scores of Communist fronts were set up for the purpose of obtaining clemency for these atomic spies.

Cleveland Conference delegates who petitioned the authorities on behalf of the Rosenbergs or Morton Sobell were as follows: Ralph C. Abele, Charles F. Boss, Matthew W. Clair, Jr., Edwin T. Dahlberg, Homer A. Jack, J. Stuart Innerst, Julian J. Keiser, Paul L. Lehmann, Robert W. Moon, A. J. Muste, Alan Peabody, Oscar Seitz, B. Julian Smith, and Edward L. Whittemore.

### **Veterans of the Communist Line**

Among the six hundred delegates who made up the Fifth World Order Study Conference were some who have long been accustomed to supporting the Communist line, the real veterans of the Communist-front apparatus. One-third of the Cleveland Conference was composed of clergymen and two-thirds of laymen, according to a press release from the headquarters of the National Council of Churches. A tabulation showing the number of each individual's affiliation with organizations or enterprises which promoted the Communist line will indicate something of the extent of such affiliations. The number of affiliations for each individual is given in parentheses at the left of his name:

- (48) John A. Mackay, Presbyterian, U.S.A.
- (45) Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, Methodist
- (44) Charles C. Webber, Methodist
- (33) Benjamin E. Mays, American Baptist
- (33) A. J. Muste, Presbyterian, U.S.A.  
Episcopal

- (32) Herman F. Reissig, Congregational Christian
- (31) Bishop R. R. Wright, Jr., African Methodist
- (22) Clarence E. Pickett, Society of Friends
- (21) Edwin T. Dahlberg, American Baptist
- (20) Ralph W. Sockman, Methodist
- (16) Mordecai Johnson, Baptist
- (15) Charles F. Boss, Methodist
- (14) John C. Bennett, Congregational Christian
- (14) Stanley I. Stuber, American Baptist
- (14) Alfred W. Swan, Congregational Christian
- (12) Paul L. Lehmann, Presbyterian, U.S.A.
- (12) Hiel D. Bollinger, Methodist
- (11) Harold A. Bosley, Methodist
- (11) Robert W. Moon, Methodist
- (10) Gardiner M. Day, Protestant Episcopal

It will be noted that only those with ten or more affiliations have been listed in the foregoing tabulation.

One-half of all the clergymen at the Cleveland Conference have been affiliated with one or more units of the apparatus which promotes the Communist line. Furthermore, a mere glance at the names of those with ten or more affiliations will indicate that they made up practically all of the outstanding leaders of the Cleveland Conference. They are the articulate and most experienced clergymen in the business of guiding the deliberations of any body in whose work they participate. To take only the top ten names in the foregoing tabulation — Mackay, Oxnam, Webber, Mays, Muste, Reissig, Wright, Pickett, Dahlberg, and Sockman—it will be evident that they could easily dominate any gathering made up largely of inarticulate and inexperienced laymen.

That is how and by whom a body of six hundred delegates was swayed to the adoption of a resolution such as the one concerning the recognition of Red China—a resolution which is nationally unpopular both in and out of the churches.

## CONCLUSION

From the foregoing data, it is clearly established that the leadership of the National Council of Churches, like its predecessor to the Federal Council, leans far to the left and in a large measure aids and abets the Communist conspiracy. It makes little or no difference whether this assistance is given wittingly or otherwise. In either case, the objective results are the same. The security of the United States—our very existence as a free people—is at stake. It ought to be clear that the entrenched bureaucracy of the leftwing radicals of the National Council of Churches is contributing to the undermining of our nation's foundations.

Any individuals or denominations which support the National Council of Churches must now do so with their eyes open. The pro-Communist bias of the leadership of the National Council was made abundantly evident at the Fifth World Order Study Conference at Cleveland in November, 1958.

*Ask your Congressman  
or Senator for a  
copy of this report.*

COMMUNIST PERSECUTION OF CHURCHES  
IN RED CHINA AND NORTHERN KOREA

---

CONSULTATION WITH  
FIVE CHURCH LEADERS

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REV. SHIH-PING WANG

REV. TSIN-TSAI LIU

REV. SAMUEL W. S. CHENG

MR. KYUNG RAI KIM

COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
EIGHTY-SIXTH CONGRESS  
FIRST SESSION



MARCH 26, 1959  
(INCLUDING INDEX)

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auspices of the American  
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January 1, 1959

## REPORT ON THE CAMPAIGNS TO DESTROY THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

With the convening of the First Session of the 86th Congress on January 7, 1959, certain subversive and left-wing organizations in the United States are expected to launch vicious attacks against the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC) for the avowed purpose of terminating the Committee's existence. Activities of several of these groups which have been mentioned in previous issues of the Firing Line, while strikingly similar in purpose, do not all reflect origin from a common source.

One of the major organizations initiating an abolition campaign is the left-wing American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) and its Southern California affiliate. Foundation for the latest ACLU attack against the HUAC was actually laid on February 19, 1958, when the ACLU's national organization petitioned the Supreme Court of the United States "to rule conclusively that the House Un-American Activities Committee has no right to inquire into a person's political beliefs and associations." The ACLU statement was in support of LLOYD BARENBLATT, a former Vassar College psychology instructor, who appealed a contempt of Congress conviction. BARENBLATT was cited for contempt following his appearance before the HUAC on June 28, 1954, based upon his refusal to answer numerous questions regarding alleged membership and activities in the Communist Party. (See ACLU, "Civil Liberties," March 1958, page 1.)

Following his conviction, BARENBLATT appealed to the United States Circuit Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia. When the Court of Appeals upheld BARENBLATT's conviction in January 1957, he promptly took his case to the Supreme Court. On the basis of the Court's decision in the JOHN T. WATKINS case, the Supreme Court remanded the BARENBLATT case to the Court of Appeals for reconsideration on June 24, 1957. For a second time, the Court of Appeals on January 16, 1958, upheld BARENBLATT's conviction. Shortly after the ruling, the ACLU joined in a second appeal to the Supreme Court on which there has been no decision to date. (See HUAC, Annual Report, 1957, page 10; "The New York Times," 3-31-58, page 16; and "The Washington Daily News," 11-18-58, page 14.)

According to the ACLU, "the significance of the Union's petition (in the BARENBLATT case) lies in its request that the high court rule that its decision last June (17, 1957) in the WATKINS case specifically prohibits inquiry by the Un-American Activities Committee into political beliefs and associations. The WATKINS decision, in a case also supported by the ACLU, reversed a contempt conviction because the witness was not informed of the nature of the inquiry and the 'pertinency' of the questions concerning Communist associations. However, it also criticized the Committee's 'exposure'



of persons accused of Communist ties and the vagueness of the term 'un-American'." In announcing the ACLU had "assumed primary responsibility" for the BARENBLATT case in February 1958, ACLU Executive Director PATRICK MURPHY MALIN "said the Union hoped the Supreme Court would 'finally determine the unconstitutionality of the Committee's (HUAC) mandate'." (See ACLU, "Civil Liberties," March 1958, page 1.)

On July 31, 1956, MALIN stated the ACLU "believes that the letter and spirit of the First Amendment make the mandate of the HUAC unconstitutional or unwise, or both. That has been the Union's belief ever since the Committee was established in the late Nineteen Thirties...So this is the time to urge that no Committee with such a mandate should be appointed when the new Congress convenes next January (1957.)" An ACLU brief filed with the Supreme Court on September 6, 1958, on behalf of BARENBLATT directly challenged the authority of the HUAC. The ACLU brief asserted that the HUAC "lacks authority to conduct any investigation or to compel testimony...(and) that the Committee violates due process and unconstitutionally tries to restrain freedom of belief, expression and association protected by the First Amendment." (See "The New York Times," 10-27-58, page C-29.)

#### ENTER ACLU OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

Supplementing the national ACLU's spearheading attack against the HUAC is the probing flank movements of its Southern California affiliate. The September 1958 issue of The Open Forum, a monthly organ of the Southern California ACLU stated it had filed a \$20,000 damage suit in the Ninth United States District Court charging that the HUAC "is an illegal Committee of Congress." The suit was on behalf of DONALD WHEELDIN and ADMIRAL GEORGE DAWSON, who had been subpoenaed by the HUAC to appear before Committee hearings scheduled to commence on September 2, 1958. The complaint asked the Court to "quash the subpoenas issued to WHEELDIN and DAWSON pending a hearing on the legality" of the HUAC.

According to The Open Forum, WHEELDIN and DAWSON "claim they would be 'publicly accused of disloyalty, adjudged guilty without a hearing, and rendered unemployable' if forced to appear before the Committee. WHEELDIN left the Communist Party because of 'fundamental differences with it,' but would not be a 'cooperative' witness before the Committee. DAWSON also would not be a cooperative witness." It is noteworthy that the September 1, 1958 edition of the National Guardian reflected WHEELDIN was a former employee of the People's World, "the official organ of the Communist Party on the west coast." (See HUAC, Guide To Subversive Organizations and Publications, 1957, page 100.)

The Southern California ACLU, at its Legislative Action Conference held at Baces Hall, 1528 North Vermont, Los Angeles on November 15, 1958, launched a month-long petition campaign urging 17 California Congressmen "to offer at the opening of the 86th Congress a resolution to eliminate the Committee on Un-American Activities from the list of Standing Committee's of the House of Representatives." On the basis of the Southern California ACLU's total membership of 4,000, every member was asked to secure 25 signatures to meet the petition campaign goal of 100,000. ALAN BARTH, who has been an ACLU National Committeeman since 1952, was the keynoter at the aforementioned Conference. Currently on leave as a "chief editorial writer" for the Washington Post and Times Herald, BARTH was identified in the March 15, 1954 Firing Line as a severe critic of the FBI. In addition to "mailing out

petitions to its own members," the National Guardian of November 24, 1958, page 1, reported the Southern California ACLU "has asked other organizations and individuals to do the same." The Los Angeles edition of the People's World, dated November 15, 1958, page 3, stated "one organization to announce immediate support and assistance was the Los Angeles Committee to Preserve American Freedoms (accurately known as the Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms), whose central aim has been the outlawing of the Un-American Committee and similar state inquisitorial Committees." MRS. DOROTHY MARSHALL is the Citizens Committee's Chairman and FRANK WILKINSON is the group's Executive Secretary. (See "The Open Forum," November 1958, page 1.)

Both MRS. MARSHALL and WILKINSON described the Southern California ACLU "petition campaign as 'the most important development in the country' in the move to end the 20-year reign of the un-Americans (HUAC.)" Accompanied by a letter, MRS. MARSHALL reportedly mailed ACLU petitions to "5,000 homes" in that State. In its report entitled, "Operation Abolition," dated November 8, 1957, the HUAC stated the "major adjunct of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee (ECLC) in the California area is an organization designating itself as the Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms." Full disclosures concerning the activities of the ECLC, an identified Communist-front, have appeared in recent issues of the Firing Line. (See HUAC, Guide To Subversive Organizations and Publications, 1957, page 38.)

On August 13, 1958, the House of Representatives cited WILKINSON for contempt of Congress and forwarded his case to the Department of Justice for possible prosecution. This action stemmed from WILKINSON's uncooperative appearance before an HUAC hearing in Atlanta, Georgia, on July 30, 1958. WILKINSON has been identified as a member of the Communist Party. HUAC Chairman FRANCIS E. WALTER stated on August 8, 1958, the HUAC "had information that WILKINSON is 'the guiding light' of the ECLC, and had been designated by the Communist Party to manipulate that Committee and some of its affiliated organizations." According to an ECLC mimeographed letterhead, dated August 12, 1958, WILKINSON "amicably" left the employ of the ECLC prior to August 1, 1958, however, "remains a member" of the ECLC's National Council. (See "The Evening Star," Washington, D. C. 8-14-58, page A-21.)

During September 1958, the Southern California ACLU inserted "political advertisements" in five Los Angeles newspapers attacking the HUAC for conducting hearings in that city. The ACLU statement was signed by 98 individuals who urged that letters of protest be sent to Members of Congress. In addition to the ACLU sponsored petitions and letter writing campaigns, the Communist Party and its 600 fronts are obviously very actively engaged in similar projects to attempt to abolish the HUAC during the 86th Congress. It is reliably reported the Communist Party, "making use of their fellow travelers and dupes, plus their 'united front tactic,' ...can have 50,000 letters on any issue sent to Capitol Hill or the White House inside of 72 hours." As a Legionnaire or as another patriotic American who has wholeheartedly endorsed the effective anti-subversive efforts of the House Committee on Un-American Activities - What are you going to do to counteract these intensified abolition campaigns?

#### ON THE RELIGIOUS FRONT

Several pronouncements of the Fifth World Order Study Conference held in Cleveland, Ohio, in November 1958 have been strongly repudiated by certain Protestant clergy, laymen and other God-fearing, thinking Americans.

Sponsored by the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., 600 delegates to the World Order Study Conference unanimously urged that Communist China be granted diplomatic recognition by the United States and admitted to the United Nations. Other statements adopted by the Conference called for "stronger efforts should be made to break through the present stalemate and to find ways of living with the Communist nations. Sometimes this is called 'co-existence,' but we are concerned with something more than the minimum meaning of the word. Our relationship with the Communist nations should combine competition between ways of life with cooperation for limited objectives, our resistance to Communist expansion goes with recognition of the fact that Communist nations as nations, have their own legitimate interests and their own reasonable fears. We should avoid the posture of general hostility to them and cease the practice of continual moral lectures to them by our leaders."

These statements were part of a 5,000-word document entitled, "Message to the Churches." It is interesting to note that the entire statement was prepared by a 23-member Conference Committee "headed" by the REV. DR. JOHN COLEMAN BENNETT, Dean of the Faculty of the undenominational Union Theological Seminary of New York City. Readers will recall that certain views of DR. BENNETT appearing in the August 15, 1958 Firing Line are seemingly similar in vein to some of the aforementioned pronouncements adopted by the World Order Study Conference. At the close of the Conference, REV. DR. EDWIN THEODORE DAHLBERG, President of the National Council of Churches, stated: "It is to be hoped that our Government and the United Nations will take to heart the message and findings of this Conference." A report on DR. DAHLBERG's background was contained in the January 15, 1958 Firing Line. (See "The Evening Star," [Washington, D. C.], 11-22-58, page B-13; "The New York Times," 11-22-58, page C-8; and "Firing Line," 12-1-58.)

On November 22, 1958, both REV. DR. DANIEL A. POLING and REV. DR. NORMAN VINCENT PEALE issued strongly worded statements repudiating the Conference pronouncements regarding Communist China. DR. POLING said he believed "that this action misrepresents my Protestant faith. With every influence that I have, I repudiate it...I maintain that this resolution represents only the men who endorsed it and not the Protestant community of the United States ...Certainly the National Council of Churches...must accept full responsibility for this action." DR. PEALE declared he was "one minister who is completely opposed to recognition of Communist China and the admission of that ruthlessly totalitarian government to the councils of nations." According to DR. PEALE, "were this government to recognize Red China, the millions living under Communist tyranny would feel completely abandoned and in despair would give up all hope of resistance. Communist power would sweep over the entire Far East and creep nearer to us across the Pacific." (See "The New York Times," 11-24-58, page C-32; and "The Sunday Star," [Washington, D. C.] 11-23-58, page A-10.)

Speaking before the Conference prior to the adoption of the controversial pronouncements, Methodist Bishop G. BROMLEY OXNAM claimed "too much of our policy is based on fear of Communism rather than faith in freedom - 'let the hysterical stay under the beds as they search for the Communists...'" On December 3, 1958, the General Board of the National Council of Churches disclaimed responsibility for the Conference's resolution in Communist China. (See "Cleveland Plain Dealer," 11-19-58; and "The New York Times," 12-4-58, page C-19.)

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Rosen	✓
Tamm	✓
Winterrowd	✓
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Holloman	✓
Gandy	✓

On his radio program on January 5, 1959, Fulton Lewis, Jr., highly recommended that his listeners obtain a copy of a new report concerning communist espionage in the United States which has been prepared by the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Mr. Lewis stated that the report can be obtained for 25 cents from the Government Printing Office. He further stated that the report cites cases which have never been made public before.

Congressman Francis Walter of the House Committee on Un-American Activities spoke briefly and stated that the report concerns current communist operations in the United States. He described communist espionage as being more "extensive and efficient" now than ever before.

**RECOMMENDATION:** For information. Congressman Walter indicated that the House Committee on Un-American Activities will analyze existing legislation concerning 1 - Mr. Belmont espionage with a view to repairing weaknesses.

GWG:mms  
(3)

23 JAN 13 1959

CRIME REC.

NOT RECORDED

JAN 14 1959

53 JAN 19 1959

ORIGINAL COPY FILED

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Nease *gms*FROM : M. A. Jones *MAJ*SUBJECT: 

EMPLOYEE, OFFICE OF  
CONGRESSMAN JOE HOLT (R-CALIFORNIA)  
CODE 180, EXTENSION 5031

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 2/16/82 BY SP6 BJA/gpr

DATE: January 5, 1959

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Boardman \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

b6

b7C

Captioned individual was telephonically referred from Mr. Nease's office 1-5-59 to SA Jacobson of the Crime Records Section. He advised the Congressman's office was in receipt of 9 telegrams from California, advocating the abolishment of the House Committee on Un-American Activities.  stated that he understands other Congressmen have also received similar telegrams and wanted to know whether or not the FBI would be interested in obtaining copies of telegrams sent to Congressman Holt's office. He added further that perhaps we would like to take his question under advisement and contact him when a decision had been reached. These and other telegrams regarding the same subject matter which may be mailed to the Congressman's office in the future will be held by  pending our decision.

was cordially thanked for his information and told that the matter would be taken under advisement, and he <sup>would be</sup> advised of our decision.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

1. This matter be taken under advisement by the Domestic Intelligence Division. (Consideration should be given to the possibility that if this is a concerted effort on the part of individuals and/or organizations, the various Members of Congress may be deluged with similar telegrams and letters. Acceptance of the telegrams received by one Congressman would then necessarily entail acceptance of similar telegrams and letters received and yet to be received by each Member of the Congress.)

2. Results of decision by Domestic Intelligence Division regarding this matter be appropriately forwarded to SA Jacobson for transmittal to

- 1 - Domestic Intelligence Division  
1 - Mr. Nease

SEE ADDENDUM

ON PAGE 2

JAN 9 1959

b6

b7C

INT. SEC. to

Suggest they be referred  
to Dick Arenas.

BCJ:jc

(5)

67 JAN 13 1959

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN 94-45716

Memorandum to Mr. Nease from Mr. M. A. Jones - dated 1/5/59

Re:

Employee, Office of Congressman Joe Holt (R-California)

ADDENDUM BY J. A. SIZOO: <sup>ll</sup>LL - January 6, 1959

b6  
b7C

With reference to the campaign of writing letters to members of Congress, advocating the abolishment of the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA), it should be noted that there is a common campaign among the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee and several similar groups to write letters to members of Congress, advocating the abolishment of the HCUA. The White House, the Department, and other interested persons have been advised on a continuing basis of this campaign. We agree with Mr. Nease that it would be desirable that Congressmen receiving such letters be referred to Dick Arens of HCUA.

✓  
C'man Holt is  
being advised  
1/7/59 in  
advance.

J. A. S.

✓  
and alert Arens

1-6

gav.  
H.

Handled  
1/9/59  
J. A. S.

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-412902)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-118525)

SUBJECT: BRONX CIVIL LIBERTIES COMMITTEE  
EE-6~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Enclosed for the Bureau's information is a copy of a "Petition to Abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities," furnished on 12/23/58 by [redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past. (U)

b7D

Source advised that at a meeting of the Bronx Civil Liberties Committee (BCLC) held 12/22/58, [redacted] Executive Secretary, instructed BCLC members to obtain signatures on above petitions. On the first of the year, these petitions will be presented by the BCLC to local congressmen in order to let them know the constituents in their districts who favor Congressman JAMES ROOSEVELT'S proposed legislation. (U)

[redacted] advised that above petitions, according to [redacted] were printed by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee.

1 Photostat of  
encl made & sent  
AAG, 1 SD, 1/31/59  
gms

FOSTER

161-7582-  
NOT RECORDED  
176 JAN 5 1959

1 - Bureau (100-412902) (Encl. 1) (RM)  
1 - New York (100-107419) (BCLC) (411)  
1 - New York [redacted] (RM)  
1 - New York (100-101419)

REB:jlm  
(17)

12-31-58  
SHK/SS  
CLASS. & EXT BY  
REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2  
DATE OF REVIEW 3/3/92

CLASS. & EXT BY  
REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2  
DATE OF REVIEW 3/3/92

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISE  
SLIP  
DATE 3/10/82

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

3/10/82

(U)



## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (61-7582)

DATE: 1/9/59

FROM : *[Signature]* SAC, SAN JUAN (100-6340)SUBJECT: HOUSE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN  
ACTIVITIES  
INFORMATION CONCERNING  
SUBVERSIVE CONTROL

*ing*

Re Bureau letter dated 12/31/58, reference to San Juan letter to Bureau dated 12/22/58, containing information requested in Bureau letter of 12/12/58.

No further information has been received from , Puerto Rico, since that date.

b7D

The Bureau will be promptly advised of all pertinent developments.

2-Bureau (RM)  
2-San Juan

JCS:mcs  
(4)

*id*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 2/16/62 BY SP6 BJA/pt

EX - 132

REC-75

61-7582-4014  
JAN 12 1959

SUBV. CONTROL

67 JAN 26 1959



## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI (61-7582)

FROM : SAC, Pittsburgh (100-13295)

SUBJECT: HCUA HEARINGS

DATE: 1/14/59

Remylet, 12/12/58.

On 1/14/59 GEORGE WILLIAMS, investigator, House Committee on Un-American Activities, called at this office and advised SAC E. H. WINTERROWD and SA [ ] that he and two other investigators had returned to the city to conduct further interviews with regard to future HCUA hearings to be held in Pittsburgh.

WILLIAMS stated that the date for said hearings was still indefinite but that same might be called for some time in February, 1959.

Further developments will be furnished to the Bureau as same come to the attention of this office.

- 2 - Bureau (RM)  
1 - Washington Field (Info) (RM)  
1 - Pittsburgh

JTM/jep  
(4)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 2/16/88 BY SP6 b1A/PT  
[Signature]

EX-135

REC-19

61-7582-4015  
18 JAN 16 1959

SUBV. CONTROL  
[Signature]

52 JAN 27 1959

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : The Director

DATE: 1-13-59

FROM : J. P. Mohr

SUBJECT: The Congressional Record

Pages 550-  
551

Congressman Roosevelt, (D-California), spoke concerning a resolution he submitted to abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities and to transfer its jurisdiction to the Committee on the Judiciary. Mr. Roosevelt stated "At the outset I wish to emphasize that by abolishing the committee it is not my intention to have the House cease its activity in investigating subversion. As a matter of fact, my resolution will strengthen this function by responding to the Supreme Court decisions on the mandate of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, without which response any effective legislative action would seem to be most questionable." He went on to state "I offer my proposal in a spirit of good will towards those who might differ with me as to its form. Certainly, no one can differ with the intent of my proposal—that is, to clear up any constitutional doubt as to the scope of congressional inquiry into the field of internal security. My proposal is made with as much consideration to security as it is to individual rights."

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 2/16/60 BY 60484/T

61-7582-  
NOT RECORDED  
141 JAN 28 1959

In the original of a memorandum captioned and dated as above, the Congressional Record for \_\_\_\_\_ was reviewed and pertinent items were marked for the Director's attention. This form has been prepared in order that portions of a copy of the original memorandum may be clipped, mounted, and placed in appropriate Bureau case or subject matter files.

67 JAN 29 1959 6340

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN 66-1 731-157

## OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (97-3030)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (105-2916) DATE: 1/12/59

SUBJECT: ROUND THE WORLD TOURIST, aka.  
World Tourist Incorporated  
ISA of 1950; RA  
(OO: LOS ANGELES)

ReBulet to Los Angeles, 12/16/58, and  
Los Angeles letter to Bureau, 11/26/58, both captioned  
"HOUSE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES" (HCUA),  
reflecting the interest of the HCUA in companies and  
individuals engaged in selling or transmitting parcels  
behind the Iron Curtain.

The Bureau directed the attention of the  
NY and Los Angeles Offices to subject case plus the  
following cases in connection with this matter, and requested  
that NY and LA review their files for pertinent information  
not previously submitted to the Bureau in a form suitable  
for dissemination.

WYNN TOURS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - R  
REGISTRATION ACT  
(OO: LOS ANGELES)

- 6 - Bureau (97-3030) (RM)  
    (1-61-6328) (World Tourist, Inc.)  
    (1-61-7582) (HCUA)  
    (1-97-3341) (Wells Tours)  
    (1-105-52803) (Wynn Tours)  
5 - Los Angeles (105-761) (RM)  
    (1-62-1664) (HCUA)  
    (1-97-290) (Wells Tours)  
    (1-105-3886) (Wynn Tours)  
1 - New York (97-13) (World Tourist, Inc.)  
1 - New York (100-115609) (HCUA)  
1 - New York (105-33572) (Wells Tours)  
1 - New York (105-33573) (Wynn Tours)  
1 - New York (105-2916)

REG:jad  
(16)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7/16/82 BY Sp6 b/A/gt

61-7582-  
NOT RECORDED  
100 JAN 14 1959

66 JAN 14 1959

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN 97-3030-48

NY 105-2916

WELLS TOURS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - R  
REGISTRATION ACT  
(OO: LOS ANGELES)

A review of New York files made during December, 1958, and January, 1959, failed to reflect any pertinent information not previously furnished to the Bureau and Los Angeles in the matter of Round the World Tourist, aka., World Tourist, Inc.

New York files were also reviewed concerning World Tourist, Inc., which company ceased all activity in 1951, inasmuch as Round the World Tourist, aka, was formerly the Los Angeles branch, of World Tourist, Inc. No additional information was noted.

New York files contained no information identifiable with Wynn Tours or Wells Tours. RUC.

4  
(51)  
**Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT**

TO : The Director

DATE: 1-13-59

FROM : J. P. Mohr

SUBJECT: The Congressional Record

Pages 551-555      Congressman Scherer, (R) Ohio, spoke concerning the drive by certain people to abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities. The references to the FBI and the Director contained in Mr. Scherer's remarks were brought to your attention in a memorandum prepared earlier today.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 2/16/82 BY SP6 b7d

61-7581-  
NOT RECORDED  
141 JAN 28 1959

In the original of a memorandum captioned and dated as above, the Congressional Record for \_\_\_\_\_ was reviewed and pertinent items were marked for the Director's attention. This form has been prepared in order that portions of a copy of the original memorandum may be clipped, mounted, and placed in appropriate Bureau case or subject matter files.

67 JAN 29 1959 1320

Original filed in: 66-1731-1291

DIRECTOR, FBI

1/15/59

SAC, NEW YORK (105-33596)

UTSCH AND ASSOCIATES  
OF NEW YORK CITY  
IS-R; REGISTRATION ACT  
OO: New York

Re Los Angeles letter to Bureau, 11/26/58;  
Bureau letter to Los Angeles, 12/16/58, captioned, "House  
Committee on Un-American Activities".

A review of the NY files re captioned firm  
reflects that Utsch and Associates of NYC filed the  
following registration statement with the Registration  
Section of the Department of Justice:

Date of Registration

5/9/58

Registrant's Name

Utsch and Associates

Address

39 Broadway  
New York, NY

Names of Officers

HANS UTSCH  
Director, President  
and Treasurer  
(FA-4)

ANTHONY C. COREA  
Director, Vice-President  
and Secretary  
(FA-4)

SAMUEL JOHN LOEWENSTEIN  
Director and Attorney  
(FA-4)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 2/16/12 BY Sp6 bja/gpt

- 3 - Bureau (RM)  
① - (61-7582)  
1 - Los Angeles (Info) (RM)  
1 - New York (105-33596)

BHD:dmb  
(5)

NOT RECORDED  
29 JAN 19 1959

66 JAN 21 1959

1049  
77-1049  
ORIGINAL FILED IN

NY 105-33596

Principal	Tuzex Foreign Trade Corp.
Address	Rytirska 13 Prague, Czechoslovakia
Nationality	Czech
Business	Government
Agency	Exclusive Sales Agent and Representative

Files of the NYO contain no additional information pertaining to the captioned firm.

A review of the NYO files reflect that the report of SA A. H. GUNSEL, dated 1/24/41, at NY, captioned, "GERMAN FUNDS; MISCELLANEOUS INFORMATION CONCERNING", contains information pertaining to Hans Utsch and Company. The following information was obtained by SA A. H. GUNSEL from R. A. SICKLES, Dunn and Bradstreet Mercantile Agency, 200 Broadway, NYC, who furnished Dunn and Bradstreet file on Hans Utsch and Company, which was as follows:

Report dated 9/21/39, contained in the files revealed that HANS UTSCH & COMPANY of 29 Broadway, Room 1700, began business on 1/1/34, with HANS UTSCH and BERNARD G. WIRSING as general partners. On 12/11/35, HEDE (Mrs. HANS) UTSCH became a special partner in the firm with a contribution of \$10,000 in cash. The report further revealed that the bank of the firm was the Chase National Bank, 18 Pine Street, and that an account had formerly been maintained at the J. Henry Schroder Banking Corporation of NYC.

The file showed that HANS UTSCH was 39 years old at the date of the report, was a native of Germany, and had been employed for two years by a Berlin stock exchange house. He came to this country in 1926 and is a naturalized citizen. For a time he was employed as a salesman by the Equitable Life Assurance Society at their branch office, 256 Court Street, Brooklyn. On



NY 105-33596

On August 1, 1933, he started in business individually as an investment securities broker.

The file further showed that BERNARD G. WIRSING is also a native of Germany had had been employed by several banking and brokerage houses located in Leipzig and Berlin; that he came to the US in 1927 and is a naturalized citizen; that, further, he was also employed by the Equitable Life Assurance Society at the same branch office. On 1/1/34, he became a partner in the firm of HANS UTSCH & COMPANY.

The report stated that the firm handled domestic and foreign securities and foreign exchange. It also maintains a commercial credit department which was organized on October 15, 1933, which is engaged in the financing of exports, imports, and other merchandise transactions. This department is managed by HANS JEAN RITSCHER. The firm clears its own transactions and has private connections with the J. Henry Schroder Banking Corporation and Goodbody & Company, both of NYC.

The report revealed that HANS JEAN RITSCHER is 32 years old, married, a native of Germany, and came to the United States in 1930. His father is a director of the Dresdner Bank of Berlin. RITSCHER is a naturalized citizen, was formerly employed by Lazar Freres & Company until 1931. From 1932 until 1933 he was an executive with the J. HENRY SCHRODER BANKING CORPORATION and subsequently an officer in the Continental Export and Import Company, which company is an affiliate of the Schroder bank.

Examination of the credit and correspondence files at the main office of the Chase National Bank revealed that the account had been opened on 7/16/40, and had been introduced through A.W. BARTH, Assistant



NY 105-33595

Cashier of the Foreign Department. Under the heading of "Related Accounts", is the NY Overseas Corporation. Under the heading of "Affiliations" in this file is the FORAM MANAGEMENT CORPORATION, whose address is given as 29 Broadway. Inquiry under date of 10/30/40, by the Chase National Bank at the J. Henry Schroder Banking Corporation revealed the following: "The FORAM MANAGEMENT CORPORATION is a new organization which was formed only recently. An account was opened the other day with the SCHRODER TRUST COMPANY with an initial deposit of approximately \$4,000. The company intends to import and export general merchandise and also act as manufacturers representatives, and it plans to do business with South American countries, and they are now in the stage of developing such contacts. HANS UTSCH & COMPANY, good customers here, are financially in back of this new organization, but none of its members are officers and we understand that the subject merely occupies office space with them. FRAZIER POTTS is the President, and I understand that he was for many years employed by the National City Bank in South America and that he understands business in that community as well as the complicated foreign exchanges. G. H. PETERSON is the only other officer known to us, and his title is Vice President. The latter individual, we understand, has some very good connections in South America, but I do not know with whom he was formerly identified although I have a feeling that he was formerly connected with the NEW YORK OVERSEAS CORPORATION."

Also under the heading of affiliations in this file is the FIRST OF DELAWARE COMPANY, whose address is given as 29 Broadway. Inquiry by the Chase National Bank of the J. HENRY SCHRODER BANKING CORPORATION showed the following: "The subject has maintained an account with the Schroder Trust Company since October 2 of this year, and I believe that we are their only banking connection. The account opened with an initial deposit of

NY 105-33596

\$13,500, and the balance at the present time is a low five-figure amount. This is a partnership composed of HANS UTSCH, BERNARD G. WIRSING, H. J. RITSCHER, and FREDERICK H. SIEMANN..."

There were numerous inquiries made in regard to HANS UTSCH and HANS UTSCH & COMPANY by the Chase National Bank. These were routine inquiries by the bank to various references and business associates of UTSCH regarding his reputation and their opinion of him as an individual and as a businessman. A copy of the partnership resolution as of 7/16/40, contained in the credit file, revealed that authority to sign checks as HANS UTSCH & COMPANY was held by HANS UTSCH, BERNARD G. WIRSING, partners, and FREDERICK H. SIEMANN, attorney,

For the information of the Bureau, information obtained from Dunn and Bradstreet at the present time, is concealed at the request of the Dunn and Bradstreet Company.

DECODED COPY

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Belmont ☒  
 Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
 Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

☒ Radio☐ Teletype

URGENT 1-16-59

TO DIRECTOR

FROM SAC, SAN JUAN 162115

HOUSE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES, INFORMATION CONCERNING,  
 SUBVERSIVE CONTROL, BUFILE 61-7582. RE SAN JUAN RAD JANUARY 14  
 INSTANT. [REDACTED], ADVISED  
 ME THAT AFTER [REDACTED] CONTACT WITH ME, TELE-  
 PHONIC CONTACT WAS MADE WITH [REDACTED]  
 APPRISING THEM THAT NEITHER INFORMAL OR FORMAL CLEARANCE WOULD BE  
 AFFORDED [REDACTED] FOR CONTEMPLATED INTERVIEWS; THAT SUBSEQUENTLY [REDACTED]  
 RECEIVED PHONE CALL FROM [REDACTED] INSTRUCT-  
 ING [REDACTED] WHICH HE HAS  
 DONE.

b6  
 b7C  
 b7D

RECEIVED: 4:31 PM RADIO

4:43 PM CODING UNIT HJT

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 DATE 2/16/82 BY SP6 BIA/p+

Mr. Belmont

REC- 92

61-7582-4017

cc - Belmont *KH*  
 EX-102  
 66 JAN 23 1959

14 JAN 21 1959

SUBV. CONTROL

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT  
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TO :

DIRECTOR, FBI (61-7582)

DATE: 1-20-59

FROM :

SAC, WFO (100-22169)

DECLASSIFIED BY 9803 rdd/jmy  
ON 9/15/93 #331,007

SUBJECT:

HOUSE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN  
ACTIVITIESAPPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF  
DATE 3/60Classified by 202 tuf  
Declassify on: OADR  
1/10/83

Enclosed for the Bureau for information is one photostat of an advertisement which appeared in the "Washington Post and Times Herald" a daily Washington, D. C., newspaper on Wednesday, January 7, 1959, page A-8 which petitions the 86th Congress to eliminate the House Committee on Un-American Activities as a standing committee.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

It is noted that WF 1063-S\*, who has furnished reliable information in the past, on 1-6-59 reported that on that date [redacted] stated that tomorrow's papers will carry large ads "to abolish the Un-American Committee and we have to raise \$750 to help defray expenses for this ad." (C) u

It is further noted that WF 1062-S\*, who has furnished reliable information in the past, on 5-31-58 reported that [redacted] consider themselves communists but do not use the word communist even in discussions among themselves or their associates preferring to use the words "left, progressive, we, or us" in place of communist. (C) u

On 9-24-58, WF 1062-S\* advised that during a recent discussion [redacted] said that in 20 years the Soviet Union will sweep the world and "we'll take it over completely." (C) u

ENCL. ATTACHED

- 2 - Bureau (Encl. 2)  
1 - Baltimore (Encl. 1) (Info)  
1 - Birmingham (Encl. 1) (Info)  
1 - Indianapolis (Encl. 1) (Info)  
1 - Jacksonville (Encl. 1) (Info)  
1 - Los Angeles (Encl. 1) (Info)  
1 - Mobile (Encl. 1) (Info)  
1 - Newark (Encl. 1) (Info)  
1 - New York (Encl. 1) (Info)  
1 - Philadelphia (Encl. 1) (Info)  
1 - San Francisco (Encl. 1) (Info)  
1 - WFO

CMG:rlm

JAN 28 1959

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

b6  
b7C

23 JAN 20 1959

SUBV. CONTROL

11-3-81  
CLASS. & EXT. BY SP4 JPP/ELK  
REASON: FCIM II, 1-2.4.2  
DATE OF REVIEW 4-3-91

Partially de-indexed  
Duplicate 100-42977  
6-20-72  
#

REC-66

61-7582-4018

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WFO 100-22169

The following offices are being furnished one Photostat of the above described advertisement: Baltimore, Birmingham, Indianapolis, Jacksonville, Los Angeles, Mobile, Newark, New York, Philadelphia, and San Francisco.

- 2 -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Henry  
Coleman

1/16/59

airtel

To: SAC, San Juan

From: Director, FBI (61-7582)

HOUSE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES, INFORMATION CONCERNING,  
SUBVERSIVE CONTROL

Reurrad 1-14-59.

Matter discussed today with INS. INS stated definitely not engaging in any program or project and was certainly not going to do anything that might interfere with FBI's work. They had received from HCUA list of potential HCUA witnesses and consequently, sent a representative to Puerto Rico to determine if any of them were aliens. If so, INS desired to interview them before HCUA did and thus avoid any possible embarrassment. Also had in mind assisting HCUA if possible. Upon learning from your office that these individuals are not aliens, INS has dropped the matter and is going to make no further check.

Remain alert to keep Bureau advised of any developments concerning possible HCUA hearings in Puerto Rico.

1 - 64-200-48 (PCP)

JJH/baw  
(6)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 2/16/82 BY SP6 bja/pt

EX - 133

REC-14

JAN 16 1959  
COMM-FBI

61-7582-4016

JAN 19 1959

67 JAN 22 1959

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 61-7582-4016



ENCLOSURE TO BUREAU (1)

Bureau File 61-7582  
WFO File 100-22169

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 8/16/2001 BY SP6 bja/pt

ENCLOSURE

ENCLOSURE

61-7582-4019

THE WASHINGTON POST and TIMES HERALD  
A8 Wednesday, January 7, 1959

# **"The ~~X~~Un-American Activities Committee should be abolished, not reorganized and expanded."**

*Editorial*

*"The Washington Post"*

*December 19, 1958*

We, the undersigned, petition the 86th Congress to eliminate the House Committee on Un-American Activities as a Standing Committee.

We believe that the U. S. Supreme Court has, in the *United States vs. Watkins*, made it clear that the Committee has habitually misused its mandate in unconstitutional ways for political purposes; that it has become an agency for repression; that it has usurped the functions of the executive and judicial branches of our government.

We are confident that only a return to constitutional procedures can protect us against subversion without at the same time subverting the very liberties we seek to protect.

For two decades the Congress has allowed the Committee to function. For two decades the Committee has condemned individual Americans, has wrecked the lives of some, and has denied them the due process of law that English and American courts have toilsomely evolved over many centuries. Now the nation is reaping the bitter harvest:



1. The Committee has perverted, and thereby imperiled, the proper and necessary powers of the Congress to conduct investigations.
2. The Committee has helped discourage free study and inquiry in working for peace while the world is threatened with destruction.
3. It has harassed Americans who work for racial equality and justice.
4. It has increased bitterness between racial and religious groups of our citizens, which in turn has imperiled our good relations with the people of Asia, Africa, and Latin America.
5. It has discouraged social and cultural contacts with our neighbors on this shrinking planet. It has discouraged U. S. students and scholars from studying in countries which we Americans desperately need to understand.

The House Committee on Un-American Activities has in these ways weakened America. At no time in history have we needed to be stronger. At no time have we needed to be wiser. Let us rid ourselves of this agent of weakness and of folly.

REV. BENJAMIN J. ~~ANDERSON~~

DR. STRINGFELLOW ~~BARR~~

DEAN JOHN C. ~~BENNETT~~

JUDGE JOHN O. ~~BIGELOW~~

DR. EUGENE CARSON ~~BLAKE~~

BERNARD ~~A. BRYSON~~

JOHN M. ~~GOE~~

REV. RAY ~~SIBBONS~~

JESSE W. ~~GITT~~

JOHN ~~HAMMOND~~

PROF. FOWLER ~~HARPER~~

JAMES ~~IMBRIE~~

PROF. ERICH ~~KAHLER~~

ROBERT W. ~~KENNY~~

BISHOP EDGAR ~~L. LOVE~~

DR. JOHN A. ~~MACKAY~~

DANIEL G. ~~MARSHALL~~

MRS. DOROTHY ~~MARSHALL~~

STEWART ~~MEACHAM~~

PROF. ALEX. ~~MEIKLEJOHN~~

REV. A. J. ~~MUSTE~~

REV. CLAUD D. ~~NELSON~~

DR. REINHOLD ~~TEBUHR~~

LEON ~~PFEFFER~~

JUDGE JUSTINE W. ~~ROLIER~~

CLARENCE E. ~~PICKETT~~

PROF. ARNOLD W. ~~ROGOW~~

MRS. ELEANOR ~~ROOSEVELT~~ NY-26

PROF. DONALD H. ~~RIDDLE~~

BEN ~~SHAHN~~

OTTO L. ~~SPAETH~~

PROF. GEORGE H. ~~THOMAS~~

W. O. ~~FILENIUS~~

PROF. PAUL ~~FILLET~~

AUBREY ~~WILLIAMS~~

--- FILL IN COUPON, CLIP AND MAIL ---

H. W. ~~Imbrie~~, Secretary

P. O. Box 333,

Lawrenceville, New Jersey

I agree with the above petition and want to do something to help abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee as a Standing Committee.

I enclose \$\_\_\_\_\_ to aid in this program, and for further publication of your advertisement.

Please print or type:

NAME .....

ADDRESS .....

CITY ..... STATE.....

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-373305)

January 19, 1959

SAC, CHICAGO (100-22977)

[REDACTED]  
SECURITY MATTER - C  
OO: CHICAGO

b6  
b7C

Re Chicago letter dated 10/24/58.

[REDACTED] is currently a student, University of Illinois,  
Navy Pier, Chicago, Illinois.

An FD-122 has been submitted reflecting [REDACTED]  
student status.

This case is being closed until such time as the  
next annual report is due.

C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 2/16/80 BY SP6 b1Bpt

ORIGINAL  
ORIGINAL

- (3) - Bureau (RM)
- (1) - 61-7582 (HCUA)
- 2 - Chicago
- (1) - 100-28823 (HCUA)

HRG:ram

(5) 53 JAN 25 1959

NOT RECORDED  
29 JAN 22 1959

Orig & 5  
1 - H. Higgins  
1 - M. Rozamus

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (U)

SAC, Houston (100-9523)

February 12, 1959

REC- 93

Director, FBI (61-7582) - 4019

EX 105

HOUSE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES  
MISCELLANEOUS INFORMATION CONCERNING  
(INTERNAL SECURITY)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

Reurlet dated 1-20-59 captioned "House Committee on  
Un-American Activities, Information Concerning, Subversive Control."

Bufiles reflect that [redacted] and [redacted] whose names are set out in relet, are former security informants of your office; and that [redacted] is an approved potential security informant (PSI). (U)

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Section 1070 of the Manual of Instructions points out that an office should be alert to the possibility of a former informant being a witness before a congressional committee, and prior to such an appearance he must be contacted and certain instructions reiterated by the Agent who handled him.

In view of the fact that the Bureau was confidentially furnished information concerning the proposed House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA) hearings which are not scheduled until June, 1959, if they are to be held, it will not be necessary at this time for your office to contact the three former security informants nor to discuss with the PSI the matter of publicly appearing before a congressional committee. However, you should follow this matter closely. Upon receipt of information indicating that it is publicly known that HCUA hearings are to be held, promptly advise the Bureau with your recommendation relative to contacting the former informants and instructing the PSI. Of course pertinent information bringing these cases up to date should be furnished to the Bureau as soon as possible in line with the observations set out in relet.

Sufficient copies of this letter are being furnished your office in order to place a copy in each of the files of the informants involved. Future communications from your office pertaining to informants in the captioned matter should furnish a copy of the communication for each informant's Bureau file.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Note on yellow on page 2.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (U)

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RECORDED COPY FILED IN

Letter to Houston

RE: HOUSE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES  
61-7582

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

HCUA made available on confidential basis to Bureau scheduled of hearings for 1959. Schedule reflected hearings would be held in Texas in June, 1959. A source at Texas Department of Public Safety (TDPS) has furnished Houston Office list of subjects whose whereabouts HCUA desires to know. Houston Office is preparing reports or letters for the Bureau on each subject. Four of the subjects have been active in an informant capacity.

[redacted] was a Bureau informant from [redacted] when he was discontinued when he informed several persons, two of whom were labor leaders, of his intentions to become an informant. In 1956 he advised Houston Office that he had reactivated in the Communist Party (CP) in behalf of the TDPS. The TDPS has reported information received by them from [redacted] on security matters to the Houston Office on occasions. Last serial in a file is a transcript dated 2-5-57 denying authority for Houston Office to contact [redacted] and pay him \$100 to attend a Socialist meeting at Los Angeles. ~~(U)~~

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[redacted] was approved as a PSI by Bulet of 11-7-58. He is a former CP member and had been inactive since [redacted] Houston Office is currently endeavoring to develop him as a security informant.

[redacted] served as a security informant of Houston Office from [redacted] Last serial in file is a letter dated 12-19-52 from Houston Office reflecting she discontinued her informant activities because she was planning to get married on [redacted] to a person who had no knowledge of her CP activities. ~~(U)~~

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Since information concerning HCUA hearings was furnished to Bureau in confidence, there is no evidence that the hearings will be positively held and in view of the period of time involved, it is felt that matters should not be discussed with the individuals involved. However, it will be followed and if additional pertinent data is received, further consideration will be taken to any necessary action.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (61-7582)

DATE: 1/20/59

FROM : SAC, HOUSTON (100-9523)

SUBJECT: HOUSE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES  
INFORMATION CONCERNING  
SUBVERSIVE CONTROL

Re Bureau letter to Houston dated 11/20/58.

On 12/29/58, [redacted] Intelligence Section, Department of Public Safety, State of Texas, advised that he had been informed by his office that when WILLIAM W. WHEELER, West Coast Representative, HCUA, was in Houston in November and early December he left a list of names with [redacted] Department of Public Safety. The list, according to [redacted] contained the names of persons who had some connection with the Communist Party in Texas during some period in the 1940s and was probably obtained from testimony given during hearings of the HCUA in Los Angeles.

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Department of Public Safety was asked by WHEELER if these individuals were currently in Texas, and for addresses. WHEELER indicated that no firm decision had been made relative to subpoenaing these persons, but they were under consideration.

- ② - Bureau (RM) lcc Run 1244
- 2 - Albuquerque (RM)
- 2 - Chicago (RM)
- 3 - Dallas (RM)
- 1 - El Paso (Info.) (RM)
- 2 - Los Angeles (RM)
- 2 - New Orleans (RM)
- 2 - New York (RM)
- 4 - Newark (RM)
- 2 - Oklahoma City (RM)
- 1 - San Antonio (Info.) (RM)
- 42 - Houston

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 2/16/82 BY Sp6 bIA hr. [signature]

EX-132

REC- 28

61-7582-4019

11 JAN 22 1959

DWM:ys  
(65)

Let to Houston  
2-12-59  
mjr/mjc

Sub 602

FBI

HO 100-9523

In accordance with Bureau instructions, Houston files are being opened and reviewed. The Bureau and pertinent offices will be advised of the results of these reviews. Reports or letters will be submitted in accordance with relet on those cases opened. Following is the list of names, pertinent file numbers and the last known office of origin, where it is other than Houston.

	<u>Name</u>	<u>Bureau File</u>	<u>Houston File</u>	<u>Last known OO</u> <u>Other office file</u>
	CHARLES JOSEPH ANDERSON ✓	100-334227	100-7538	Houston
	[REDACTED]		100-7671	b6 b7C
X	MORRIS ATLAS ✓	100-33840	100-1876	Houston
SI	[REDACTED]	100-351094	100-7881	DL 100-8088 sent
X	[REDACTED]	100-114266	100-4688	Houston
SI	RUEL STANFIELD	100-6971	100-751	Cinc
SI	[REDACTED]	100-347609	100-7643	NY 100-100351
X	<sup>Harrell</sup> FLORENCE BETTIN ✓ ?	100-147791	<sup>Harrell</sup> <del>100-7995</del> <del>100-1892</del> <sup>Relet</sup> 100-5485	AQ 100-1892
SI	[REDACTED]	100-337767	100-7095	Houston
SI	MORRIS BOGDANOW	100-46069	100-2311	Houston
	[REDACTED] <sup>Mr. Main</sup>		No record	
	[REDACTED] 100-345196		100-7672	<sup>Dallas</sup> 100-8053 <del>NO 100-14044</del>
	[REDACTED] 100-26939		100-1484	Houston
X	[REDACTED]			Houston
	[REDACTED] <sup>Mr. R.</sup>		No record	
X	[REDACTED]			Houston

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b7C  
b7D



NameBureau FileHouston FileLast known OO  
Other office file

X [redacted]	100-37144	100-1335	Houston	b6
X [redacted]	65-19763	100-632	Houston	b7C
X [redacted]	100-25701	100-1470	Houston	
X ANDREW REAGAN SIMPSON	100-342713-43	100-7580	NK 100-342713- <sup>39225</sup>	
[redacted] No main	No record			
S1 LUCIUS BLAIR	100-360073	100-7782	Houston	
X [redacted] 100-369115 65-30852		100-9155	Houston	
[redacted] No main		66-437		
X [redacted] 100-32951 121-33517		100-1017	Houston	b6
X [redacted]			Houston	b7C
[redacted]	No identifiable record			b7D
? GRACE CALL	100-8446	66-262	Mrs. Shusband (Dallas)	b6
[redacted]	File destroyed 100-310385	100-7390		b7C
X [redacted] 100-63696	No identifiable record		Dallas? 100-862	
S1 CEPHUS DEBOSE Leroy	100-345941	100-7628	Houston	
[redacted] No main	No identifiable record			
X [redacted]			Houston	
S1 JACK FRYE (John Christy)	100-17630	100-1117	LA 100-33507	
X [redacted]	100-349934	100-7700	OC 100-6448	b6
				b7C
				b7D

HO 100-9523

	<u>Name</u>	<u>Bureau File</u>	<u>Houston File</u>	<u>Last known OO</u> <u>Other office file</u>
X	CURTIS HAMM	100-79557	100-2398	<i>Houston</i>
SI	[redacted]	100-356149	100-7812	NK 100-34618
	[redacted] <i>No main</i>	No identifiable record		
SI	HERMAN HUGHES	100-355201	100-7746	<i>Houston</i>
X	[redacted] ( <i>former det</i> )	[redacted]		<i>Houston</i>
	[redacted] <i>No main</i>	No identifiable record		
X	[redacted]	100-378553	100-8053	CH <sup>100-</sup> 27485
X	JOSES LEROY	100-345208	100-7634	<i>Houston</i>
X	[redacted] <i>No main</i> ISABEL LEWIS	100-348000	100-7720, 100-7673	<i>Houston</i>
	[redacted] <i>No main</i> <i>100-398200</i> <i>100-8899</i>	No identifiable record		
X	ARON IRVING MARKS	100-66299	100-6327	<i>Houston</i>
	[redacted]	<i>File Destroyed</i> 100-244429	100-7609	
SI	[redacted]	100-363338	100-7953	<i>Houston</i>

For information of all offices, the Bureau advised by relet that [redacted] House Committee on Un-American Activities, made available to the Bureau on a confidential basis, the schedule of House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA), hearings for 1959. The schedule reflected that hearings would be held in Texas in June, 1959, concerning Communist Party activities on the Texas border.

The Bureau instructed that in every case where an individual is to be subpoenaed before the Committee, files should be reviewed and investigation be brought up to date. A report suitable for dissemination should be submitted in



each case where warranted. In cases where a report is not submitted, letters should be submitted under the individual case caption advising why a report will not be submitted. These letters should reflect the date of the last report as well as a statement that you possess no current information concerning the subject.

Prospective witnesses should be considered for interview when their names as prospective witnesses are learned prior to the issuance of a subpoena by the committee. Bureau authority should be obtained prior to conducting such interviews.

Since it is not anticipated that Department of Public Safety can furnish the committee with the addresses of persons living outside the state, it is not recommended that the offices to whom copies of this letter are being furnished, outside of the Texas offices, open cases on persons who may be residing in their territories, UACB. Copies are being furnished to the listed offices for information.

Any further information in this matter will be immediately furnished to the Bureau and interested offices.

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont

FROM : Mr. J. F. Bland

SUBJECT: HOUSE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES  
SAN JUAN DIVISION

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 2/10/82 BY SP6 DIA/pt

DATE January 20, 1959

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Rememo Mr. Nease to Mr. Tolson dated 1/19/59 captioned "Communist Party of Puerto Rico, House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA)," concerning contemplated HCUA hearings in Puerto Rico. It was recommended that HCUA be furnished any public source information regarding communism or communist personalities which might assist in the hearings.

There is no public source information or sources who could furnish information to HCUA; however, there are set out, with background information, the identities of three individuals who may be of interest.

In this regard, it is noted that Juan Saez Corales, Block J-7 Urbanization Lomas Verdes, Bayamon, Puerto Rico, affiliated with the Communist Party of Puerto Rico (PCP) in 1937. In 2/50 he formally joined the PCP and in 1951 became a member of the central committee, holding the position of secretary of labor. When contacted by Agents in 5/58 he was cordial, but did not furnish any information, stating his activity and history in the PCP could be found in pamphlets written by him. He estimated he terminated his activity in the PCP in approximately 5/57. He is a white male citizen of the United States.

[redacted] (San Juan daily newspaper), El Imparcial Building, San Juan, Puerto Rico, was an alternate member of the central committee of the PCP in [redacted] he reportedly attended a youth congress in Budapest, Hungary, for the PCP. [redacted] was considered a PCP member in [redacted] he accused some members of the PCP of being dictators and responsible for the condition of the communist movement in Puerto Rico. In 2/58 he refused to be interviewed by Agents of this Bureau. He is a white male citizen of the United States.

Manuel Arroyo Zeppenfeldt, K-7, Las Lomas, Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico, is a retired employee of the Commonwealth Government of Puerto Rico. Reportedly, during 1958, Arroyo was the secretary of press and

61-7582

- 1 - Mr. Nease
- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Bland
- 1 - Mr. Coleman

- 1 - 64-200-48 (PCP)
- 1 - 100-26857 (Juan Saez)
- 1 - 100-125992 (Eugenio Cuebas)
- 1 - 100-142835 (Manuel Arroyo)

EX-102

REC-58

61-7582-4020

JAN 27 1959

b6  
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TC/baw/pmt (9)

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 100-125992-100-26857-100-142835

Memorandum for Mr. Belmont

Re: HOUSE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES  
SAN JUAN DIVISION

61-7582

propaganda for the PCP. Although Arroyo is reported to be suffering from leukemia and cancer of the throat, he has been active in the communist movement in San Juan as late as 8/58. He has been described as a most active member and largest contributor to PCP causes.

RECOMMENDATION:

It is recommended that this memorandum be furnished to Mr. Nease.

gk  
TC

gk

Q

V.

Handled  
11-23/59-  
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ok to advise areas

ok  
gk

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI

DATE: 1/15/59

FROM : SAC, Cincinnati

SUBJECT:

HOUSE COMMITTEE ON UNAMERICAN ACTIVITIES (HCUA)

ATTENTION: MR. G. A. NEASE

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. Belmont	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Nease	
Mr. Parsons	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Tamm	
Mr. Trotter	
Mr. W.C. Sullivan	
Tele. Room	
Mr. Holloman	
Miss Gandy	

M. G. LOWMAN, Cincinnati, telephonically advised 1/15/59, voluntarily, that he had just placed in the mail documents to members of Congress and to other prominent people purporting to show a record of activities of Congressman EMANUEL CELLER. This document alleges participation by CELLER in "incidents" of some 45 front organizations, including 30 of which were cited by the HCUA, 17 by the Attorney General of the United States, 19 by the California Committee. LOWMAN also stated that with regard to the proposal that HCUA be disbanded and its functions be placed under the judiciary committee under Congressman CELLER, LOWMAN is expressing the opinion in writing that this would be like putting the wolf in charge of the sheep.

Naturally this office has no connection with LOWMAN's activities or views.

2 - Bureau  
1 - Cincinnati

EDM:pat  
(3)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 2/11/82 BY SP6 BIA/pt

REC- 58

61-7582-4021

JAN 27 1959

52 JAN 30 1959

RECEIVED

EXP. PROC.

JAN 19 1959

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (61-7582)

DATE: 1/26/59

FROM : SAC, DALLAS (100-0)

SUBJECT: HOUSE COMMITTEE ON  
UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES  
INFORMATION CONCERNING  
SUBVERSIVE CONTROL

Re Houston letter to Bureau, 1/20/59.

A review of the list set forth in this letter has reflected that the individual appearing thereon as [redacted] may be identical with [redacted] (Bufile 100-398200) (Houston file 100-8999), who was last known to have resided at [redacted] Texas, as of 1/25/56.

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[redacted] (Bufile 100-345096) and his wife, [redacted] (Bufile 100-345096), were last known to have resided at [redacted] Texas, during 1956. It is believed that these two individuals are currently residing in Dallas.

[redacted] aka., (Bufile 100-351094) formerly resided at [redacted] Texas, and in 1956 moved to [redacted] where he was receiving mail at General Delivery.

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The files of [redacted] are being reopened pursuant to Bulet to Houston dated 11/20/58, and the files will be reviewed and brought up to date, inasmuch as there is a possibility that these individuals will be subpoenaed by the HCUA. The file of [redacted] is not being reopened for the reason that he was last known to be residing out of state.

- 2 - Bureau (61-7582) (RM)
- 3 - Houston (100-9523) (100-8999) (RM)
- 2 - New Orleans (100-14044) (RM)
- 5 - Dallas
  - (1 - 100-0)
  - (1 - 100-8069)
  - (1 - 100-9144)
  - (1 - 100-8053)
  - (1 - 100-8088)

WHB:hdc  
(12)

REC- 92

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 2/16/82 BY SP6 bld  
pt

61-7582-4022

17 JAN 29 1959

SUBV. CONTROL

66 FEB 6 1959

DIRECTOR, FBI (61-9152)

1/22/59

SAC, SAN FRANCISCO [REDACTED]

Re: [REDACTED]

Replies 12/17/58.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 2/16/62 BY SP6 BJA/PT

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[REDACTED] was interviewed on 1/14/59 and he furnished a report of a CP Club meeting he had attended on the previous night. At that time he furnished the following additional information:

He has suffered substantial financial reverses in recent months. Having invested all of his capital in the building of a [REDACTED] Due to his inability to obtain financing, he has been unable to complete [REDACTED] and he stands possibly to lose his entire investment. For that reason he is more anxious than ever to have his book or his series of articles for [REDACTED] put into publication. Nothing more has been done toward actually writing a book or series of articles.

[REDACTED] was interviewed 1/9/59 by Mr. WILLIAM WHEELER of the HCUA. He said Mr. WHEELER told him he was stationed in Los Angeles and is an investigator for the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Mr. WHEELER told him that he had been instructed by his Washington Headquarters to interview [REDACTED] concerning his associations as a CP member. He said Mr. WHEELER told him he knew a great deal about him from the old "Hamilton Fish Committee investigations of Detroit Communist activities," and was interested in the possibility of [REDACTED]'s giving testimony concerning these activities. [REDACTED] told him he was more than willing to testify and he outlined generally for Mr. WHEELER the things he learned about the CP in Detroit. He said Mr. WHEELER expressed himself as impressed with [REDACTED] knowledge of the CP. He said Mr. WHEELER explained that the Walter Committee had been criticized in connection with security investigations. He said that

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- 4 - BUREAU (REG)
- (2 - Bufile [REDACTED])
- (2 - Bufile 61-7483; HCUA)
- 2 - SAN FRANCISCO
- (1 - SF 100-36915; HCUA)
- (1 - [REDACTED])

RE: [REDACTED]

61-7589-  
NOT RECORDED  
183 FEB 2 1959

ORIGINAL COPY SENT IN 61-7589-1



nevertheless the HCUA contemplates an all-out attack on Communism and plans to hold further hearings in the immediate future. Mr. WHEELER did not tell [ ] whether such hearings might be on the West Coast or in Detroit and he did not tell [ ] whether he intended calling him. [ ] said he expects to hear from Mr. WHEELER within two weeks and he will then advise this office.

[ ] on 1/20/59, advised he had on 1/10/59 received a subpoena to appear [ ] probably in [ ] to give testimony in executive session before the Walter Committee. He said the service of this subpoena is not recorded and effort will be made to keep secret the fact he is going to testify.

[ ] stated his review of his CP career with Mr. WHEELER has refreshed his recollection of events in Detroit in the [ ] and, accordingly, report of his refreshed recollection has been taken from him and furnished to the Detroit Office.

[ ] was again cautioned to tell the truth in his testimony and reminded of dangers of libel suits and oaths by the CP in the event of his giving inaccurate testimony. He again gave his assurance of his intention to limit his testimony to matters of which he is sure. [ ] indicated that WHEELER was most interested in the Cominfil Auto Industry in Detroit, Michigan, in the [ ] and that his testimony would for the most part concern that activity.

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Mr. WHEELER called at the San Francisco Office on 1/19/59 and advised he has interviewed [ ] at some length and plans on using him as a witness before HCUA Executive Session as stated. He stated further that he obtained [ ] name through [ ] He understands that [ ] has been assigned to do any story on [ ] Mr. WHEELER, however, was doubtful if [ ] will do a story. He said if they do they will want exclusive rights since they are the people who put [ ] in touch with the Committee.

The Bureau will be advised of any further developments.

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : The Director

DATE: 1/16/59

FROM : J. P. Mohr

SUBJECT: The Congressional Record

mic

## APPENDIX

Page A176

Congressman McCormack, (D) Massachusetts, extended his remarks to include an editorial entitled "Attack On HUAC" which appeared in the January 12, 1959, Daily News of New York City. The editorial congratulates the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 2/16/82 BY SP6 BJA/px

Original filed in: 66-101-100

73  
66 FEB 10 1959

161-7582-  
NOT RECORDED  
191 FEB 6 1959

In the original of a memorandum captioned and dated as above, the Congressional Record for 1/15/59 was reviewed and pertinent items were marked for the Director's attention. This form has been prepared in order that portions of a copy of the original memorandum may be clipped, mounted, and placed in appropriate Bureau case or subject matter files.



F B I

Date: 1/23/59

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Nease	_____
Mr. Parsons	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tamm	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Mr. W.C. Sullivan	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Holloman	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (61-7582)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-22169)

HCUA

LOUIS RUSSELL on 1/22/59 advised SA JOSEPH A. CONNORS, Jr., that the Committee lost two members as a result of the last election viz. [redacted] (R) N.Y. (retired) and [redacted] (R) Mich. They have been replaced by WM. E. MILLER (R) N.Y. and AUGUST E. JOHANSEN (R) Mich. For info.

3 - Bureau

1 - WFO

JAC:blb

(4)

AIRTEL

C C - Wick

REC-27

EX-133

25 JAN 28 1959

FEB 25 1959

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

b6  
b7c

**AIRTEL**

F B I

Date: 1/39/59

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL - REGISTERED  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (U)~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE~~

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (61-7582)

FROM : SAC, LOS ANGELES (62-1664)

SUBJECT: HOUSE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES  
INFORMATION CONCERNING  
SUBVERSIVE CONTROL3/16/82  
CLASS. & EXT. BY  
REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2  
DATE OF REVIEW 3/16/93Following information obtained on 1/29/59 from  
WILLIAM A. WHEELER of HCUA's investigative staff.Subcommittee of HCUA will hold executive hearings  
at Los Angeles beginning 2/23/59, which in effect will be a  
continuation of the hearings here last September on the  
subject of the organization and program of the Southern  
California District, Communist party, USA.Following the forthcoming hearings, the Committee  
expects to release for publication the report referred to in  
mylets dated 3/25/58 and 7/29/58, captioned "SOUTHERN  
CALIFORNIA DISTRICT, COMMUNIST PARTY, USA; IS - C" (Bufile  
100-3-69). It is noted this report, prepared by WILLIAM A.

- ③ - Bureau
- 2 - Los Angeles
- (1 - 100-1763) (SCDCP)

MMB:slb  
(5)

EX-102

REC-13

61-7582-4024

FEB 2 1959

**AIRTEL**

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES

AND FIELD OFFICES

ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP

DATE

3/16/82

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (U)

LA 62-1664

~~(U) CONFIDENTIAL~~

WHEELER, was originally scheduled for release for publication last year but was held up until the information therein could be based upon an actual hearing on the subject.

Subpoenaes are being issued for an estimated 40 witnesses to appear at the forthcoming hearings. Some of these were subpoenaed for the hearing last September but were not heard, while a number of others could not be reached by subpoena at that time. A number of the prospective witnesses, however, were not among those for whom subpoenaes were issued last September.

The following are the witnesses for whom subpoenaes are currently being issued. The file numbers noted are the Bufiles.

ETHEL BISKAR (100-393492) 3/21/58

HELEN BLAIR (100-375029) 12/2/58  
*(Stewart)*

ART BROWN (100-101967) 5/27/58

DOROTHY R. CATE (100-47726) 9/10/58

[REDACTED] (100-171871) 10/31/58

DOROTHY FOREST (100-198052) 11/10/58

ARVILLA JACKSON (100-46882) 7/1/58

[REDACTED] (100-413605) 6/9/58

15 [REDACTED] (100-401066) —

MARK ROBINSON (100-98081) 4/20/58

ELEANOR SMITH (100-395694) 8/21/58

[REDACTED] (100-367171) 3/5/58

SADIE TOMKIN (100-145232) 10/14/58

ROBERT BOBROW (100-336706) 8/13/58

SEYMOUR BRODSKY (100-235553) 10/8/58

FRED CANNON (100-387687) 12/24/58

AARON COHEN (100-17666) 12/10/58

ADMIRAL DAWSON (100-391362) 2/14/58

SHIFRA GOLDMAN (100-24656) <sup>NE 2</sup> 8/18/58  
*not on list*

BENJAMIN KARR (100-116141) 8/18/58

[REDACTED] (100-425576) 12/12/58

PHILIP RAFALOW (100-388749) 6/24/58

[REDACTED] (100-391092) 5/6/58

MAX STEINBERG (100-149164) 11/28/58

MATILDA TOLLY (101-5436) 1/14/58

VIVIAN WEINSTEIN (100-50097) 7/4/58

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (U)

(U) ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

LA 62-1664

CLARENCE YOUNG (100-380568) 10/17/58 [redacted] (100-368362) 11/20/58  
No [redacted] ✓ [redacted] (100-  
HUGO BUTLER (100-321017) 7/28/58 MALCOLM DOBBS (100-44777) 11/20/58  
ROBERT KLONSKY (100-243303) 6/30/58 AUGUST MAYMUDES (100-409660) 11/28/58  
[redacted] (100-172773) 12/17/58 SOPHIE SIMINOSKI (100-406405) 6/27/58  
No [redacted] (100-398392) 1/27/58

b6  
b7C

Of the above-listed individuals, all are currently on the Security Index of the Los Angeles Office with four exceptions; namely, [redacted] AUGUST MAYMUDES, and [redacted], although each is a subject of a Los Angeles investigation.

In addition to above 37 witnesses, it is noted that WHEELER's list of witnesses includes the following informants, which are specifically called to the Bureau's attention:

[redacted]  
Specific recommendations will be made regarding each informant.

Above data regarding the forthcoming HCUA hearings are being furnished the Bureau for information. The Bureau will be advised of developments in this matter; and the files of the individuals above listed will be brought up to date in accordance with the Bureau's instructions as set out in Bulet to Houston, dated 11-20-58, in captioned matter.

b7D

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (U)

1 - 1  
1 - 1

y  
n

SAC, Los Angeles

January 30, 1959

Director, FBI (61-7582)

HOUSE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES  
LOS ANGELES DIVISION

Information has been received that the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA) plans to hold hearings in Los Angeles approximately 2-15-59. Many of the individuals who were mentioned in the previously issued HCUA report concerning the Communist Party of Southern California will be subpoenaed for these hearings.

You should be guided by prior instructions concerning HCUA hearings.

1 - San Francisco

NOTE ON YELLOW:

Data re HCUA hearing reflected in memorandum Mr. Nease to Mr. Tolson 1-23-59. The HCUA report mentioned herein was analyzed prior to its publication by HCUA. Los Angeles Division already in possession of this report.

WBA:fbm  
(6)

9803 rdd/dwy 9/15/93 #337,007  
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 2/16/82 BY Sp6 b1Apt  
REC-91 61-7582-4035

MAILED 27

JAN 30 1959  
COMM-FBI

13 FEB 3 1959

EX-102

67 FEB 6 - 1959

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

1 - Mr. McNerney

February 2, 1959

AIRTEL

To: SAC, Los Angeles (62-1664)

From: Director, FBI (61-7582)

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF  
DATE 3/16/82 *gmo*

HOUSE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES (HCUA) HEARINGS,  
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA, INFORMATION CONCERNING

b7D

Reairtel 1-29-59 indicating that [redacted]

[redacted] are  
included on the list of possible witnesses for the HCUA  
hearings which are expected to commence at [redacted]

(U)

Submit your recommendations regarding these informants  
by return mail. Include your recommendations for each informant  
in one communication captioned as above. (U)

NOTE ON YELLOW:

Refairtel from LA advises that HCUA Subcommittee  
will hold executive hearings at [redacted] which in  
effect will be continuation of hearings started there last  
September on the subject of the organization and program of  
SCDCP. HCUA Investigator William A. Wheeler has issued sub-  
poenas for an estimated 37 witnesses. LA states that in addition  
to these 37 it has come to its attention that Wheeler's list of  
witnesses includes the informants mentioned in outgoing. LA  
commented that specific recommendations will be made re each  
informant but outgoing deemed necessary to get this information  
in immediately. [redacted] are currently active,

both CP members: [redacted]

and [redacted]

are actually attached to the [redacted]

[redacted] but we get the benefit of their information. (U)

1 - Tolson  
1 - Belmont  
1 - Mohr  
1 - Nease  
1 - Parsons  
1 - Rosen  
1 - Tamm  
1 - Trotter  
1 - W.C. Sullivan  
1 - Tele. Room  
1 - Holloman  
1 - Gandy

DJM:ssh

61-7582-4026

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

REC-46

61-7582-4026

FEB 3 1959

MAILED 25

FEB 2 - 1959

COMM-FBI

b7D

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-367261)

1/30/59

SAC, BOSTON (100-20793)

[REDACTED]  
SM - C

(OO: NEW YORK)

*House Committee On Un-American Activities*  
Re Boston letter to the Director dated 10/9/58 and New York letter to the Director dated 11/19/58.

On January 14, 1959, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] advised during a no name pretext telephone inquiry by SA [REDACTED] that [REDACTED] resides and is employed as a [REDACTED]

New York verify and consider requesting Bureau authority to interview [REDACTED] in accordance with Bureau instructions.

RUC.

cc: ③ Bureau (100-367261) (RM)  
(1 - 61-7582)

2-New York (100-115459) (RM)

2-Boston (100-20793)  
(1 - 100-32353)

JHS:cm  
(7)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 8/16/92 BY SP6 bja/got

1-61-7582-  
NOT RECORDED  
100 FEB 3 1959

63 FEB 7 1959

b6  
b7c

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN 100-367261-60



Office

Memorandum

UNITED STATES

GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. TOLSON ✓

DATE: January 30, 1959

FROM : C. D. DELOACH

SUBJECT: HOUSE COMMITTEE ON  
UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES (HCUA)

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
 DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
 McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
 Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
 Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
 W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Dick Arens, Chief Counsel, HCUA, called January 29, 1959, and stated that an individual by the name of [redacted] had caused Chairman Walter of the HCUA considerable difficulty in his home town of Easton, Pennsylvania.

[redacted] Easton, Pennsylvania. Arens thought perhaps there might be some subversive derogatory information concerning [redacted]

Bufiles fail to reflect any record on [redacted]  
 If there is no objection, I plan to tell Arens we have never investigated [redacted] consequently, we can be of no assistance.

b6  
 b7C

ACTION:

As indicated above.

1 - Mr. Jones

CDD:ejp  
 (3)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 DATE 2/16/82 BY SP6 GJA/pf

REC-17

EX-135

61-7582-4027

11 FEB 4 1959

08 FEB 10 1959

CRIMINAL



## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (61-7582)

DATE: 1/9/59

FROM : SAC, WFO (100-22169)

REC- 33

SUBJECT: HCUA

ATTN: Records Section

On 1/20/55, HCUA released a Cumulative Index to Publications of the Committee on Un-American Activities.

This is a cumulative index to individuals, publications, and organizations referred to in printed hearings and reports of this committee for the years 1936 through 1954.

The Committee has now released a Supplement to the original Cumulative Index which covers the years 1955 and 1956.

Four copies of this supplement are enclosed for the Bureau and two copies are enclosed for the New York Office.

2-Bureau (Encls.-4)  
1-New York (Encls.-2) (RM)  
1-WFO  
JAC/sps  
(4)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EX-DATED 11/6/82 BY SP6 bja

REC- 33

61-7582

13 JAN 9 1959

ENCL BEHIND FILE

67 MAY 20 1959



## DECODED COPY

☒ Radio☐ Teletype

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
 Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

PAGE TWO FROM SAC, SAN JUAN 142105

PARTICIPATION IN ANY SUBVERSIVE MOVEMENT WOULD HAVE BEEN AND WOULD BE PROMPTLY FURNISHED [ ] AND THAT AT THE PRESENT TIME THERE IS NO INDICATION THAT [ ] ARE INVOLVED IN THE CP MOVEMENT IN PUERTO RICO. HE INDICATED THAT ONE OF THE PERSONS TO BE INTERVIEWED WAS [ ] (BUFILE 100-412900) AND THAT HE BELIEVES HE WAS EITHER [ ] OUR FILES REFLECT THAT [ ] WAS TO APPEAR BEFORE THE UNITED STATES FEDERAL COURT IN THE SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK, NEW YORK CITY, ON [ ] FOR A HEARING CONCERNING HIS APPLICATION [ ] THE QUESTION WAS RAISED AS TO WHETHER I MIGHT GIVE APPROVAL FOR INTERVIEWS IF [ ] NAME CHECK FORMS WERE FURNISHED. I SAID THAT UNDER THE CIRCUMSTANCES I WOULD NOT BE ABLE TO GIVE APPROVAL EITHER INFORMALLY OR WITH A NAME CHECK FORM IN VIEW OF THE FACT THAT IT APPEARED TO ME THAT INTERVIEWS WOULD BE CONDUCTED OF INDIVIDUALS IN A FIELD WHEREIN THE FBI HAS JURISDICTION AND CONCERNING A MATTER UNDER FBI JURISDICTION, NAMELY SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES. INASMUCH AS THE MATTER APPEARS TO BE ONE OF URGENCY, [ ] INDICATED TO [ ] THAT HE MIGHT CALL [ ] REGIONAL OFFICE AT [ ] AND ASK THEM TO HAVE [ ] WASHINGTON, CONTACT FBI, WASHINGTON, FOR NECESSARY AUTHORIZATION. IT WAS NOT POSSIBLE TO WRITE DOWN ANY OF THE NAMES ON THE LIST IN [ ] POSSESSION; HOWEVER, IT APPEARED TO CONTAIN 26 NAMES, ALL OF WHICH NAMES IT IS BELIEVED WERE CONTAINED IN THE LIST FURNISHED BY THE BUREAU TO SAN JUAN BY LETTER DATED NOVEMBER 25, 1957, CAPTIONED ~~QUOTE~~ "HCUA, SAN JUAN DIVISION." ~~UNQUOTE~~. THE LIST OF NAMES CONTAINED PERSONS FULL NAME, BUSINESS AND RESIDENCE ADDRESSES AND A LITTLE BACKGROUND ABOUT THE CP ACTIVITIES OF EACH. HE INDICATED HE DID NOT KNOW THE SOURCE OF THE NAMES OR INFORMATION CONCERNING THE NAMES CONTAINED ON HIS LIST BUT THE SAME WAS FURNISHED TO HIM BY HEADQUARTERS, [ ] IT IS SUGGESTED THE BUREAU MAY DESIRE TO ALERT OTHER FIELD DIVISIONS TO THE POSSIBILITY THAT [ ] MAY ATTEMPT TO CONDUCT SIMILAR INTERVIEWS

b6  
 b7C  
 b7D

## DECODED COPY

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

☒ **Radio**

☐ **Teletype**

PAGE TWO FROM SAC, SAN JUAN . 142105

IN THE FIELD. FOR CONFIDENTIAL INFORMATION OF BUREAU, [REDACTED]  
PRIOR TO APPEARING IN OFFICE WITH [REDACTED] CONFIDENTIALLY CONTACTED  
ME TO ADVISE THAT HE WAS COMING TO THE OFFICE WITH [REDACTED] AND WHAT  
THE PURPOSE OF THE VISIT WOULD BE. BUREAU ADVISE.

b6  
b7C  
b7D

RECEIVED:

5:41 PM RADIO

6:07 PM CODING UNIT HJT

CC-MR. BELMONT

*File*  
*gm*  
M. G. ~~X~~LOWMAN

18 EAST FOURTH STREET

CINCINNATI 2, OHIO

DUNBAR 1-6140

January 14, 1959

Dear Mr. Congressman:

In the interest of the security of our country you are urged to do all in your power to defeat the Roosevelt Resolution (H. R. 53) which would abolish the Committee on Un-American Activities, and transfer to Congressman Emanuel Celler's Judiciary Committee remnants of powers to investigate subversion. *SL*

As you will see from the enclosed record of Congressman Emanuel Celler, to put him in charge of investigating the Communist apparatus in this country would be like putting the wolf in charge of the sheep.

The Bible carries ample warning regarding placing one's destiny in the hands of security risks. Current history is full of the tragedy around the world resulting from softness towards Communism.

Cordially yours,

*do*  
M. G. Lowman  
M. G. Lowman

*W. C. U. A.*  
MGL:GS  
Encl.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 2/16/82 BY Sfgk b1A pt

NOT REC

REC-17

61-7582-4029X

1-42447-3  
JAN 21 1959

CRIME REC.

ENCLOSURE  
*page*

60 JAN 21 1959

EMANUEL CELLER

In the following tabulation of the Communist and Communist-front enterprises with which Emanuel Celler has been affiliated, the name of the organization is given first, followed by the relationship of Celler to the organization, and by the source.

The letter "x" in parentheses before the name of the organization indicates that the Attorney General of the United States has cited it as subversive and Communist, or that it is an auxiliary of such an organization.

The letter "y" in parentheses before the name of the organization indicates that it has been cited as Communist by the Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities.

The letter "z" in parentheses indicates that the organization has been cited as Communist by the California Committee on Un-American Activities.

(y-z) Ambijan -- on program of dinner -- program, November 24, 1945

(y-z) Ambijan -- member of national committee -- letterhead, February 4, 1949

(y) Ambijan Committee for Emergency Aid to the Soviet Union -- member of concert committee -- letterhead, 1943.

American Committee for Armenian Rights -- speaker -- New York Herald Tribune, April 23, 1946, page 44.

(X-y-z) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born -- speaker at national conference -- The Lamp, November, 1945

(x-y-z) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born -- sent message to emergency conference -- The Lamp, April, 1946

(y-z) American Committee to Save Refugees -- sponsor of dinner-forum -- program, October 9, 1941

(X-y) American Committee for the Settlement of Jews in Birobidjan -- member of dinner committee -- program, December 4, 1937

(x-y-z) American Committee for Yugoslav Relief -- sponsor -- letterhead, October 23, 1945

(y-z) American Fund for Public Service -- member of advisory committee -- official report, 1924-1925, page 6

(y-z) American Labor Party, Kings County, New York -- speaker -- press release, April 21, 1950

(z) American Relief for Greek Democracy -- sponsor -- letterhead, November 19, 1946.

(x-y-z) American Slav Congress -- sponsor of dinner -- program, October 12, 1947

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 2/10/82 BY SPK

WATSON

61-7582-4029X

3

Emanuel Celler -- 2

(x=y=z) American Youth for Democracy -- speaker at rally -- Daily Worker, June 21, 1945, page 5

(x=y=z) American Youth for Democracy -- sponsor of dinner -- program, December 12, 1945

Aufbau -- member of advisory board -- letterhead, November 18, 1948.

Brooklyn Citizens Committee Against the Mundt Bill -- speaker for -- Daily Worker, May 17, 1950, page 5

Brooklyn Conference of Progressives -- speaker on panel -- Daily Worker, February 5, 1947, page 7

(y) Brooklyn Non-Partisan Legislative Conference -- speaker -- program, February 27, 1944

(y) Celebration of 15 Years of Biro-Bidjan -- Sponsor -- letterhead, May 14, 1943

CIO Community War Conference -- speaker -- Daily Worker, April 3, 1943, page 3

(x) Citizens Committee of the Upper West Side -- speaker -- Daily Worker, November 24, 1945, page 4

(x=y=z) Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy -- sponsor -- letterhead, January 31, 1948

Committee of Jewish Artists and Writers in the United States -- sponsor -- Daily Worker, April 1, 1943, page 6

(x=y=z) Exiled Writers Committee of the League of American Writers -- sponsor of dinner-forum -- program, October 9, 1941

(x=y=z) Federal Arts Council of the Workers Alliance -- sponsor -- leaflet

(y=z) Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights -- sponsor -- program, February 12, 1940

(x) Greek American Committee for National Unity -- signer -- Daily Worker, December 29, 1944, page 9

(x=y=z) International Workers Order, Brownsville, Brooklyn -- main speaker at rally -- Daily Worker, November 22, 1943

Jewish Council for Russian Relief -- speaker -- Daily Worker, December 3, 1945, page 2

(x=y=z) Jewish People's Committee -- speaker -- Daily Worker, July 24, 1937, page 5

(x=y=z) Jewish People's Fraternal Order (a unit of the International Workers Order) -- speaker -- Daily Worker, October 21, 1944, page 10

Emanuel Celler -- 3

(x=y=z) Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee -- speaker -- Daily Worker,  
March 19, 1946, page 2

(y) National Committee to Combat Anti-Semitism -- sponsor -- press release,  
May 24, 1944

(y) National Committee to Defeat the Mundt Bill -- sent wire to conference --  
Daily Worker, April 7, 1950, page 2

National Committee of Sponsors to Help Settle Jewish Refugee War Orphans in  
Birobidjan -- member -- letterhead, July 20, 1945

(y=z) Reader's Scope -- contributor -- Reader's Scope, November, 1945

(y) Spanish Refugee Appeal -- sponsor -- letterhead, October 8, 1945

Testimonial Dinner to Congressman Vito Marcantonio -- speaker -- New Masses,  
January 7, 1947, page 31

(y) Testimonial Dinner in Honor of Ferdinand C. Smith -- sponsor -- Daily  
Worker, September 11, 1944, page 2

(y=z) Theatre Arts Committee -- sponsor -- leaflet

Trade Union Committee for Repeal of the Smith Act -- conferred with John D.  
Masse, Secretary, stating opposition to the Smith Act -- Daily Worker,  
June 17, 1952, page 3

Trade Union Committee for Repeal of the Smith Act -- sent telegram to John D.  
Masse, announcing unalterable opposition to Smith Act -- Daily Worker,  
June 20, 1952, page 3

(y=z) United American Artists -- sponsor -- leaflet

(x=y=z) United American Spanish Aid Committee -- sponsor of Dinner-forum --  
program, October 9, 1941

(y) United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America -- signed  
declaration supporting UE strike against GE, GM, and Westinghouse --  
Daily Worker, January 30, 1946, page 5

(z) United States Arrangements Committee, World Youth Conference -- sponsor --  
letterhead, July 24, 1945

(x=z) Win-the-Peace Conference -- sponsor -- Daily Worker, March 5, 1946,  
page 3

In the quantity and quality of his affiliations with Communist enter-  
prises, Emanuel Celler's record is exceeded only by that of the late Vito  
Marcantonio, so far as members of Congress -- House and Senate -- are concerned.



The foregoing tabulation of Celler's Communist affiliations shows that he has been affiliated with at least 45 different Communist organizations and enterprises. This is a record surpassed by few Americans in or out of Congress. This record is supported by public documents in every instance.

Of the 45 different Communist enterprises with which Celler has been affiliated in one way or another, 17 have been named by the Attorney General of the United States as subversive and Communist. Thirty have been listed as Communist in the publications of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, and 24 have been listed as Communist by the California Legislature's Committee on Un-American Activities.

Only 8 of the Communist enterprises with which Celler has been affiliated have not been listed by any of the three governmental agencies named in the foregoing. These 8, however, are so clearly Communist in character that no extended argument is necessary to establish their Communist control and objectives. It must be remembered that there have been more than 10,000 different Communist and Communist-front organizations and committees in the United States during the past 20 years, and that only a small fraction of these have been publicly listed by any of the governmental agencies.

Brief observations concerning some of the organizations, committees, and other Communist enterprises with which Celler has been affiliated will serve to make clearer the nature of his aid to the Communist cause.

(A)

Ambijan

Ambijan Committee for Emergency Aid to the Soviet Union

American Committee for the Settlement of Jews in Birobidjan

Celebration of 15 Years of Biro-Bidjan

National Committee of Sponsors to Help Settle Jewish Refugee War Orphans in Birobidjan

The five Communist enterprises listed above, with which Emanuel Celler has been affiliated, were set up to assist in various ways the establishment and maintenance of the Jewish Communist settlement within the Soviet Union. The name of this settlement is Birobidjan.

For many years, ample financial support for Birobidjan from American Jewish Communists has been available.

It is obvious, of course, that support for any portion of the Communist population of the Soviet Union is support for Communism.

The dates and nature of Emanuel Celler's affiliations with the five Ambijan Communist organizations will be found on pages 1 to 3 of this memorandum.

(B)

American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born  
American Committee to Save Refugees  
Exiled Writers Committee of the League of American Writers  
Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee  
Spanish Refugee Appeal  
United American Spanish Aid Committee

These six Communist organizations have or had as their main purpose the helping of alien and refugee Communists. The alien Communists for whom aid is solicited are already in the United States, and the refugee Communists are those who wish to enter this country.

From the inception of the Communist Party in the United States, one of its major propaganda and espionage drives has centered around phony sentimental appeals for aliens and refugees.

For Emanuel Celler's affiliations with these alien and refugee organizations of the Communist Party, see the tabulations on pages 1 to 3 of this memorandum.

(C)

American Committee for Yugoslav Relief  
American Relief for Greek Democracy  
Jewish Council for Russian Relief

Relief is a familiar propaganda catchword of the Communist Party. It has been established by numerous official investigations that only a small fraction of the funds raised by the Communists for alleged relief ever reaches those for whom it was raised. Numerous witnesses with firsthand knowledge of the facts have testified that the bulk of the money raised has gone into the coffers of the Communist Party for propaganda work and for paying the salaries of the Communist Party functionaries who administer the affairs of the so-called relief organizations.

(D)

American Committee for Armenian Rights  
American Labor Party  
American Slav Congress  
American Youth for Democracy  
Aufbau  
Brooklyn Citizens Committee Against the Mundt Bill  
Brooklyn Conference of Progressives  
Brooklyn Non-Partisan Legislative Conference  
Community War Conference  
Citizens Committee of the Upper West Side  
Committee of Jewish Artists and Writers in the United States  
Federal Arts Council of the Workers Alliance

Emanuel Celler -- 6

Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights  
Jewish People's Committee

National Committee to Combat Anti-Semitism

National Committee to Defeat the Mundt Bill

Reader's Scope

Testimonial Dinner to Congressman Vito Marcantonio

Theatre Arts Committee

Testimonial Dinner in Honor of Ferdinand C. Smith

Trade Union Committee for Repeal of the Smith Act

United American Artists

United States Arrangements Committee, World Youth Conference

Win-the-Peace Conference

These 24 Communist organizations, publications, and other enterprises had as their central objective the propagation of the Communist Party political "line" of the moment. Hundreds of pages would be required to set forth in detail the political objective of each of these. In most cases, the name of the organization reveals the nature of the outfit.

In every instance, these outfits were administered by known Communists. The tabulations on pages 1 to 3 will indicate the nature of Emanuel Celler's affiliation with them.

----- **END** -----

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Nease *9/13*

DATE: January 14, 1959

FROM : M. A. Jones *MAJ**CHARLES F. LEWIN* EDITOR AND GENERAL MANAGERSUBJECT: ARTICLES APPEARING IN JANUARY 9 AND 10, 1959,  
ISSUES OF "THE STANDARD -TIMES," NEW BEDFORD,  
MASSACHUSETTS, CONCERNING THE CAMPAIGN TO  
ABOLISH THE HOUSE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES  
COMMITTEE.

Tolson	_____
Boardman	_____
Belmont	_____
Mohr	_____
Nease	_____
Parsons	_____
Rosen	_____
Tamm	_____
Trotter	_____
W.C. Sullivan	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holloman	_____
Gandy	_____

On January 12, 1959, the Director received from [ ] the captioned newspaper, two articles which appeared in that newspaper written by [ ] concerning the procommunist direction of the campaign against the House Un-American Activities Committee. These articles are very effectively written and although it is possible that Mr. Richard Arens, Director of this Committee, is aware of them, there is no indication in our files to confirm this possibility. Our relations with Mr. Arens, of course, are very cordial, and editorial ticklers reflect that we have enjoyed good relations with [ ] and his newspaper.

b6  
b7CRECOMMENDATIONS:

(1) That the attached letter be sent to [ ] concerning this series of articles.

(2) That a representative of your office bring these articles to Mr. Arens' attention. At this time, the feasibility of inserting these articles in the Congressional Record might be discussed with Mr. Arens.

Enclosure

WHS:ijj  
(4)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 2/10/84 BY SP6 b7d/gt

REC-68

100-429977-5

61-7582-4029X1

25 JAN 23 1959

52 JAN 28 1959

CRIME

HOUSE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTS

710 10 11 1959

ACTIVITIES

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*1/23/59*  
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*up to*  
*arens*  
*←*

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Nease

DATE: January 15, 1959

FROM : M. A. Jones

SUBJECT: PROPOSAL TO ABOLISH HOUSE  
UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE

Tolson	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Belmont	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mohr	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Nease	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Parsons	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Rosen	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Tamm	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Trotter	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
W.C. Sullivan	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Tele. Room	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Holloman	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Gandy	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

On his radio broadcast tonight Fulton Lewis, Jr., commented at length on James Roosevelt's proposal to abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee. Lewis pointed out that Roosevelt added a new twist to this proposal, which has been made in the past, by suggesting that the activities of the committee be placed under the House Judiciary Committee. Lewis said that this was misleading because the Judiciary Committee is under Chairman Emanuel Celler. He went on to mention the fact that the Circuit Riders under Max Lowman have petitioned all House members to defeat the Roosevelt proposal, and in their petition the Circuit Riders indicated that Celler's record for being connected with communist front groups is exceeded only by the record of the late Vito Marcantonio. The petition points out that 17 of the organizations with which Celler has been connected were at one time or another cited by the Attorney General; 30 were cited by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, and 24 by the California Committee.

Lewis said that putting the investigation of un-American matters under Celler would be like putting the wolf in charge of the sheep. He went on to say that Speaker Sam Rayburn has come out against the Roosevelt proposal, and Rayburn today said that the proposal has gone to the House Rules Committee. Lewis expressed the opinion that the proposal will never emerge from that committee.

## RECOMMENDATION:

None, for information.

1 - Mr. Belmont

MLL:abs

(3)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 2/16/62 BY SP6 B/H pr

57 JAN 23 1959

REC-68

JAN 20 1959

mll (4)

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (61-7582)

DATE: 2/6/59

FROM : SAC, WFO (100-22169)

SUBJECT: MICHAEL GORDON  
SM - C  
(OO:LA)

NOT SI

MICHAEL GORDON, date of birth 9/6/09, at Baltimore, Maryland, testified in Executive Session before HCUA in Los Angeles, California, on 10/28/58. A copy of this testimony is enclosed for the Bureau and the Los Angeles office.

This testimony was obtained on a highly confidential basis and the fact that we have it should not be disclosed. If any information is reported therefrom, it must be paraphrased and governed with a T symbol.

- ② - Bureau (Encl. 1)
- 2 - Los Angeles (Encl. 1) (RM)
- 1 - WFO

JAC:sav  
(5)

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 2/14/82 BY SP1AG/cbr  
12-8-87 #274791

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34/2/59  
2-1754 INDEXED PER  
MR. PREUSSE  
ENCLOSURE EX-132

REC-1  
REC-81

61-7582  
6 FEB 9 1959

4030  
SUBV. CONTROL

53 FEB 19 1959

ENCLO. BEHIND FILE

File cc of letter  
in 100-274824  
M

SEP 11 1959  
HAPP

DO-6

OFFICE OF DIRECTOR  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

11:28AM January 29, 1959

Congressman JAMES ROOSEVELT  
(D. - California) telephoned through  
secretary for the Director. When  
advised of the Director's absence  
from the office, he declined to speak  
with an assistant and stated he would  
attempt to contact the Director again  
at 3:00PM today.

Mr. Tolson ✓  
Mr. Belmont ✓  
Mr. DeLoach ✓  
Mr. McGuire ✓  
Mr. Mohr ✓  
Mr. Parsons ✓  
Mr. Rosen ✓  
Mr. Tamm ✓  
Mr. Trotter ✓  
Mr. Jones ✓  
Mr. W.C. Sullivan ✓  
Tele. Room ✓  
Mr. Holloman ✓  
Miss Holmes ✓  
Miss Gandy ✓

Messrs. Belmont and Rosen know of nothing in  
particular he might wish to discuss with the Director.  
Mr. DeLoach feels he might wish to explain his actions  
in connection with the efforts to abolish the House  
Committee on Un-American Activities.

A background memorandum, which will include  
information concerning Congressman Roosevelt's  
activities in the efforts to abolish this committee,  
is being prepared.

rff

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 2/16/82 BY SP-10

FEB 6 1959

61-7582-  
NOT RECORDED  
191 FEB 9 1959

CRIME REC

36 FEB 11

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN 61-7582-26

Tolson ☒  
 Belmont ☒  
 Mohr ☒  
 Nease ☒  
 Parsons ☒  
 Rosen ☒  
 Tamm ☒  
 Trotter ☒  
 W.C. Sullivan ☒  
 Tele. Room ☒  
 Holloman ☒  
 Gandy ☒

## Rep. Roosevelt 7 Backs Bid to End Anti-Red Group

WASHINGTON, Jan. 26 (UPI).

—Rep. James Roosevelt, D., Calif., today told House members not to be swayed by leadership and Republican opposition to his move to abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

"If the leadership and if the Republican caucus do not like or approve of my approach . . . he said, "this does not excuse them or any one of us from

facing the seriousness of our duty." If the fight against Communist tyranny is to be won, he said, "we must constantly examine our approach in this fight—coolly and objectively." Speaker Sam Rayburn has indicated chances are slim that Rep. Roosevelt's measure will ever be acted on.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 2/16/12 BY 806 b1A PT

61-7582-A

NOT RECORDED

117 JAN 29 1959

Wash. Post and Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_  
 Wash. News \_\_\_\_\_  
 Wash. Star \_\_\_\_\_  
 N. Y. Herald Tribune 7 \_\_\_\_\_  
 N. Y. Journal-American \_\_\_\_\_  
 N. Y. Mirror \_\_\_\_\_  
 N. Y. Daily News \_\_\_\_\_  
 N. Y. Times \_\_\_\_\_  
 Daily Worker \_\_\_\_\_  
 The Worker \_\_\_\_\_  
 New Leader \_\_\_\_\_

JAN 27 1959

57 JAN 27 1959



# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : The Director

DATE: 1-27-59

FROM : J. P. Mohr

SUBJECT: The Congressional Record

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 2/16/82 BY 60267/OK

Original filed in:  
66-1731-1584

Pages A505-A506, Congressman Thornberry, (D) Texas, submitted a resolution, adopted by the Texas State Senate, expressing opposition to House Resolution 53, which would abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee and transfer jurisdiction to the House Judiciary Committee. The State resolution pointed out that the Un-American Activities Committee had worked closely with J. Edgar Hoover and all National and State agencies in fighting communism and other un-American activities.

52 FEB 3 1959

61-7582-

the original of a memorandum captioned and dated as above, the Congressional Record for 1-26-59 was reviewed and pertinent items were marked for the Director's attention. This form has been prepared in order that portions of a copy of the original memorandum may be clipped, mounted, and placed in appropriate Bureau case or subject matter files.

NOT RECORDED  
117 FEB 3 1959

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. *[Handwritten initials]*

DATE: January 26, 1959

FROM : Mr. *[Handwritten initials]*

*E.R. Greenwood*

SUBJECT: EDWARD R. GREENWOOD  
EDWARD R. GREENWOOD, INC.  
OIL ENTERPRISES  
158 SUMMIT STREET  
BOSTON 10, MASSACHUSETTS

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Boardman ☒  
 Belmont ☒  
 Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
 Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
 Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
 Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
 W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

In an envelope date stamped January 21, 1959, we received two carbon copies of letters directed by captioned individual to Senator John F. Kennedy and Congressman Laurence Curtis both of Massachusetts. Each letter indicates a carbon copy is being directed to George B. Fowler, J. Edgar Hoover, and Representative F. E. Walter. Both letters are very critical of the current move to abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

You asked who is Greenwood.

## INFORMATION IN BUREAU FILES:

In 1950 we conducted an Atomic Energy Act investigation concerning Edward R. Greenwood. Investigation was initiated in this case because Greenwood was the owner of a large ranch situated about five miles southwest of Killeen Base, a vital military installation <sup>in Texas</sup>. It was reported that the ranch house was constructed in such a manner as to overlook this base and that Greenwood had made an effort to purchase a "scenic point" which would give him an even better view of the base. Our investigation failed to reflect that Greenwood was involved in any subversive activities but did reflect the following background. Greenwood is of Russian born parents and was married to a Polish woman of Russian descent whom he met in England while his father was in the diplomatic service. At the time of our investigation, Greenwood was living in Andover, Massachusetts, had been in the United States since 1921 and was a naturalized citizen. He was in the wool business and some of his associates considered him a "sharp" dealer. Our investigation further reflected that he had denounced communism and Russian aggression. (117-914)

## RECOMMENDATION:

None.

NOT RECORDED

FD-199 JAN 27 1959

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 21 26 82 BY SP6 BIA/pt

CRIME REC

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN 117-914

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. TOLSON

DATE: January 26, 1959

FROM : G. A. NEASE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 2/16/82 BY SP6 LJA/CP

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY OF PUERTO RICO;  
HOUSE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES (HCUA)

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

DeLoach saw [ ] HCUA, 1-23-59.

[ ] called at the Bureau 1-16-59 concerning the fact that he was "considerably upset" because the FBI had refused to allow the [ ]  
[ ] to interview members of the Communist Party in Puerto Rico.

[ ] was told that [ ] has no jurisdiction or authority to interview individuals who are citizens and [ ]. The point was made that although he had previously mentioned the fact to us that the HCUA had requested assistance from [ ] he had done so strictly on the basis that the individuals to be contacted were [ ]. [ ] was told there were [ ] communists in Puerto Rico and that very frankly, speaking in confidence, we knew of no communists who had broken from the Party who were [ ] in that locality. He was told that the FBI had no objections to the HCUA interviewing individuals but that, of course, if such activity occurred the HCUA should keep the Bureau advised so as not to interfere with our investigations.

b7D

[ ] was told that undoubtedly he could understand why the activities [ ] in the event they should step over into FBI jurisdiction, would certainly create havoc in investigations currently being carried on by the FBI.

[ ] was very cordial about the situation. He stated in a manner of confidence that apparently he had been misled by [ ] as to the fact that there were a number [ ] communists in Puerto Rico. He pointed out very honestly that he, of course, would welcome assistance from any organization in procuring witnesses for the HCUA but that he could certainly understand why there should not be duplication and why untrained, inexperienced investigators such as those employed by [ ] should not be operating within the FBI's jurisdiction. [ ] said that as far as he was concerned the matter was closed. He indicated he had brought the matter up at a meeting of the full House Committee at which all Congressmen were present on Friday morning, January 23, but had indicated that the hearings in Puerto Rico would be delayed

b7D

1-Mr. Belmont  
1-Mr. Bland  
1-Mr. Jones  
1-Mr. Papich  
CDD:jmr  
(6)

61-2582  
10 FEB 6 1959 NOT RECORDED  
12 FEB 9 1959

ORIGINAL FILED IN 64-200-48-865

Memorandum to Mr. Tolson from G.A. Nease  
Re: Communist Party of Puerto Rico; ECUA

for several months. He stated he gave no reasons for the statement and that none of the Congressmen would know of the background of this matter, particularly on the part of [ ] stated he could certainly sympathize with our viewpoint.

b7D

The names of three former members of the Communist Party who might be approached were given to [ ] in line with the recommendations of the Domestic Intelligence Division. This action had been previously approved by the Director. He was very appreciative and indicated that contact would be made with these individuals.

ACTION:

For record purposes.

*[Handwritten signature]*

✓

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : The Director

DATE: 1-20-59

FROM : J. P. Mohr

SUBJECT: The Congressional Record

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 2/16/82 BY SP6 bjk/pt

Original filed in:

Page A278

Congressman Alger, (R) Texas, extended his remarks to include his newsletter of January 17, 1959. He commented on the drive to abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee. The reference to Mr. Hoover was included in an earlier memorandum.

Pages A292-  
A293

Congressman Boland, (D) Massachusetts, extended his remarks to include an article from the Brooklyn Tablet of January 17, 1959, written by James E. Greene and entitled "Drive To Destroy House Anti-Reds--Liberals, Leftists Call for HUAC Abolition in Washington Post." This was set forth in an earlier memorandum inasmuch as it contained a reference to Mr. Hoover and the FBI.

In the original of a memorandum captioned and dated as above, the Congressional Record for 1-19-59 was reviewed and pertinent items were marked for the Director's attention. This form has been prepared in order that portions of a copy of the original memorandum may be clipped, mounted, and placed in appropriate Bureau case or subject matter files.

61-7582-

100-429077

NOT RECORDED

117 FEB 2 1959

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson

FROM : G. A. Nease

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY OF PUERTO RICO  
HOUSE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES (HCUA)

DATE: JANUARY 10, 1959

Belmont  
Mohr  
Nease  
Parsons  
Rosen  
Tamm  
Winterrowd  
Tele. Room  
Holloman  
Gandy

My memorandum dated 1-16-59 reflected a call from [redacted] HCUA, that date relative to [redacted] being disturbed over the fact that [redacted] had been stopped by the FBI from interviewing certain people in Puerto Rico in which his committee had an interest.

b7D

Mr. Belmont's memorandum to the Director of 1-16-59 pointed out Liaison Agent Papich's contact with [redacted] and that [redacted] had informed him that [redacted] definitely would not do anything in Puerto Rico that might interfere with our work. [redacted] told Papich that the [redacted] representative in Puerto Rico stated, after ascertaining that the individuals he had been requested by HCUA to interview were [redacted] dropped the matter.

[redacted] called Mr. Belmont 1-16-59 and pointed out the Bureau had apparently received some misinformation as to what [redacted] was doing in Puerto Rico. [redacted] said that [redacted] did have in mind assisting [redacted] by interviewing certain individuals to see if they knew anything about communist [redacted] however, after the [redacted] representative checked with the FBI regarding these people and found out they were citizens [redacted] decided to do nothing more about this matter. [redacted] stated he told [redacted] there are [redacted] and that [redacted] is making no further check.

b6  
b7C  
b7D

The Director noted on Mr. Belmont's referenced memorandum of 1-16-59: "1. It certainly proves wisdom of being alert to possible intrusion into our jurisdiction. 2. Advise our Puerto Rico Office matter has been handled but to keep alert."

We must now contact [redacted] and set him straight insofar as his call to the Bureau of 1-16-59 is concerned. He is out of town Monday and Tuesday of this week but is expected back on Wednesday.

b7D

Our course of action seems to be rather clear. We will tell [redacted] in a straightforward manner that [redacted] has no jurisdiction or authority to be interviewing individuals who are citizens and [redacted] may state that he had

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Jones
- 1 - Mr. Bland
- 1 - Mr. Papich

CDD:geg  
(6)

memo Nease  
to Tolson  
1-26-59  
CDD

10 FEB 6 1959

NOT RECORDED

128 FEB 9 1959

ORIGINAL FILED IN 64-200-48-864



Memorandum to Tolson  
Re: CP OF PUERTO RICO

advised the FBI previously of his intentions to have [ ] interview individuals in connection with HCUA hearings in Puerto Rico. A memorandum of 12-10-58 reflects [ ] call to DeLoach of that date and his specific statement that he had been told by [ ] that there were a number [ ] communists that have broken from the Communist Party that could be utilized for hearings. This is not true. [ ] will be told that under no circumstances will the FBI tolerate [ ] usurping our jurisdiction in Puerto Rico or any other locality. He will be told that we, of course, will have no objections to the HCUA interviewing individuals in Puerto Rico but that he should definitely keep us informed so as to prevent interfering with any current FBI investigations.

b7D

#### OBSERVATIONS:

As our memorandum of 12-10-58 points out, [ ] claimed he had received information from [ ] reflecting that agency's willingness to interview individuals for the HCUA inasmuch as there were reportedly [ ] communists among these individuals. Either [ ] man in Puerto Rico, [ ] is lying. It may be that [ ] was definitely advised of this fact by [ ] and, therefore, felt no hesitancy about asking [ ] to conduct these inquiries. We have had interference from [ ] before. On the other hand, it may be that [ ] in his anxiety to get considerable publicity for the HCUA, specifically requested [ ] to conduct these interviews without thinking of the consequences. At any rate, the matter has now been resolved between the FBI and [ ] and we are in a good position to set [ ] straight. It is believed, however, in view of [ ] willingness to assist the FBI in any project whatsoever, that the Domestic Intelligence Division should once again attempt to dig up any public source information that would be of assistance to [ ] and the HCUA in their hearings. [ ] has asked us on two occasions previously for such information but we have only been able to furnish him with a few facts concerning the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico, which he wasn't interested in inasmuch as the hearings definitely concerned Communist Party matters. There will be no difficulty with [ ] in handling this matter. We have had to set him straight before. He is, however, very FBI-minded and is always willing to assist despite his tendency sometimes to run off at tangents.

b7D

#### ACTION:

That DeLoach see [ ] and tell him that as he has already been advised by [ ] has no authority to interview citizens in Puerto Rico and that very frankly the FBI will not tolerate any such usurpation on the part of [ ] now or in the future. It is also recommended that we turn over to [ ] any public source information, regarding communism or communist personalities, which might assist him in his hearings.

Yes V. - 2 - [ ] [ ]

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson

FROM : G. A. Nease

SUBJECT:

DATE: January 16, 1959

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 2/16/82 BY SP6 BAP

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

[redacted] called me this afternoon considerably upset. He stated he was deeply hurt to find out we had stopped the [redacted] from interviewing certain people in Puerto Rico in which his Committee had an interest. He stated that about six months ago the Committee gave him the green light to institute inquiries in Puerto Rico looking towards holding hearings concerning communism there. He stated he had been down a couple of times himself and had on one occasion taken an [redacted] with him, and that we had been fully informed through Mr. DeLoach as to just what he was doing. He stated subsequently he developed some two or three dozen names of people he wanted to talk to and that due to his limited staff he had requested the [redacted] people to interview these individuals to see what they might testify to. He stated that the [redacted] people were to report to him by January 15, 1959. Not having heard from them he checked with them today and found out that we had stopped [redacted] from carrying out his request. He alleges that he told Mr. DeLoach that he was going to have these people interviewed.

b7D

He stated he is very much embarrassed because he told the committee he was lining up hearings there and now finds he has no witnesses and that he is deeply hurt if we did stop these interviews because he has always dealt straight from the shoulder with us and felt we had always done the same and that the least that [redacted] and the Bureau could have done was to have told him that we were stopping the interviews. He stated that the [redacted] people had cooperated with him in this manner before. He subsequently called back, however, and stated he wished to correct this statement; that while [redacted] had always cooperated with him informally they had not conducted such interviews.

b7D

I told [redacted] that before he started making accusations as to lack of cooperation I would check into the matter and find out what the facts are; that I was not personally familiar with the details. It will be noted from the attached memorandum submitted by Mr. Belmont today that we did object to [redacted] interviewing citizens of Puerto Rico. [redacted] stated he would be out of town until about the middle of next week but that he would appreciate being advised as to what the situation is concerning this matter. I am having a check made to determine just what [redacted] may have told us after which a recommendation will be made as to what we should tell him.

1 - Mr. Belmont

1 - Mr. Jones

GAN:sak

(4)

161-7582  
NOT RECORDED  
128 FEB 9 1959

ORIGINAL FILED IN 64-200-48-823



# Office Memorandum : UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : THE DIRECTOR

DATE: 1/16/59

FROM : A. H. Belmont

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY OF PUERTO RICO;  
HOUSE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES (HCUA)

Tolson  
Belmont  
Mohr  
Nease  
Parsons  
Rosen  
Tamm  
Trotter  
W.C. Sullivan  
Tele. Room  
Holloman  
Gandy

Reference is made to a memorandum dated 1/15/59, from Mr. Bland to me, wherein information was set forth indicating that an [ ] representative had called on the SAC at San Juan and stated that he planned to conduct interviews with a number of persons with present or past connections with the Communist Party of Puerto Rico (PCP), and he desired clearance from the Bureau to interview these people.

He stated his purpose was to interview them concerning Communist Party (CP) background and to determine what [ ] might have present or past connections with the Party. He did not know the reason for the interview program being initiated, but suggested that it might be for the purpose of a survey.

He was told by our SAC that clearance could not be given because the interviews would relate to individuals and matters within the Bureau's jurisdiction.

We were concerned about this development, because it appeared [ ] might be initiating an operation which would interfere with our work and we were also in possession of information suggesting the possibility that [ ] was involved in this project for the purpose of developing information for the HCUA. We planned to call this matter to the attention of the Attorney General, but on 1/15/59 the Director stated, "I think it would be better to take it up through liaison and if it can't be settled then we can go higher."

On 1/16/59 Agent Papich called on [ ] and informed him concerning the call made by [ ] representative at San Juan. [ ] was told that the inquiry for clearance, made by [ ] suggested a strong possibility that the agency was embarking on a program or project, the nature of which could interfere with Bureau operations. Papich pointed out that we could not understand why [ ] did not check this matter through Bureau headquarters, so that we could be fully apprised of the intent and purpose of the [ ] program. [ ] attention was also called to the fact that a few years ago we had differences with [ ] because [ ] had embarked upon projects without first checking with us, and then there was a period of strained relations. Liaison

SJP:AHB:csb (5)  
cc Belmont  
Bland  
Papich  
Nease

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 2/12/82 BY SP6BIA/pt

FEB 6 1959

NOT RECORDED  
123 FEB 9 1959

ORIGINAL FILED IN 64-200-48-862

Director

Agent Papich suggested that it certainly would not be to the best interests of either [ ] or the Bureau to go back to past mistakes.

[ ] stated that [ ] definitely was not engaged in any program or project, and above all was not going to do anything that might interfere with our work. He explained that a few weeks ago [ ] of HCUA indicated that he planned to stage hearings in Puerto Rico. He advised [ ] he was going to Puerto Rico to do some exploratory work, and particularly to determine if he could come up with some key witnesses who had been or are members of the CP. [ ] advised that [ ] anticipated the possibility that witnesses selected by [ ] could be [ ] and their testimony eventually could embarrass [ ] therefore, "wormed its way" into [ ] plans and had one of its representatives, [ ] to Puerto Rico. The files of [ ] were made available to [ ] and after two or three days he left, thoroughly disappointed at not having come up with information or identities of people who could be useful.

b6  
b7C  
b7D

*They contained no FBI material.*  
Not long ago [ ] a list of individuals whom he considered potential witnesses, to be subpoenaed in Puerto Rico. After obtaining this list, [ ] sent a representative to Puerto Rico to determine if any of them were [ ] and, if so, to interview them to make sure that [ ] had the information before HCUA, thus avoiding possible embarrassment. [ ] advised that the [ ] representative called the Bureau office and, after being satisfied that the individuals on the list were [ ] dropped the matter.

He pointed out that [ ] naturally was cooperating as much as possible with [ ] since it was to the agency's advantage to do so, but the primary purpose of following this matter was to make certain that [ ] was not left in an embarrassing position, once the hearings were initiated in Puerto Rico.

b6  
b7C  
b7D

At 12:32 p.m., 1/16/59, [ ] called Mr. Belmont, by reference from the Director's office. He said that Supervisor Papich had talked to [ ] about this, and it appeared we had received some misinformation as to what [ ] was doing in Puerto Rico. He said that [ ] of HCUA had sent word over to [ ] that he had to go to Puerto Rico, as he had received information that there were Communists, including [ ] operating in Puerto Rico, and he was

Director

going to hold hearings down there. As a result, [redacted], on 12/18/58, sent [redacted], down to Puerto Rico, with [redacted] for the purpose of seeing whether there were any [redacted] among these communists. [redacted] said that [redacted] "drew a blank" in so far [redacted] were concerned, and [redacted] was greatly disappointed because he "had no grist to put in his mill."

b6  
b7C  
b7D

[redacted] said that after [redacted] got back to the US, [redacted] a list of names of communists in Puerto Rico. [redacted] said that he thought they were citizens, but he did not know. [redacted] sent this list down to Puerto Rico and asked them to check and make sure there were not any [redacted] on it. [redacted] said that [redacted] also had in mind assisting [redacted] by interviewing these people to see if they knew anything about communist [redacted]. However, the [redacted] representative in Puerto Rico went to our office there and was advised that these persons were citizens, and the office indicated that they come within the jurisdiction of the FBI.

[redacted] said that the [redacted] representatives in Puerto Rico are doing nothing more on this; that he has told [redacted] there are no [redacted] and that he is making no further check, and he wanted to assure the Director that [redacted] is not embarking on any program to interfere with the Bureau's work.

I told [redacted] that I appreciated his call and would pass this along to the Director.

**ACTION;**

None. San Juan is being advised concerning the above.

- ✓
1. It certainly proves wisdom of being alert & possible intrusion into our jurisdiction.
  2. Advise our Puerto Rico office matter has been handled but to keep alert.

Airtel sent to  
San Juan - 1/16/59  
J.J.K./baw.

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : The Director

FROM : J. P. Mohr

SUBJECT: The Congressional Record

DATE: 1/16/59

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 2/16/82 BY SP6 bja/gr

Pages 645-  
646

Congressman Walter, (D) Pennsylvania, spoke concerning the resolution submitted by Congressman Roosevelt, (D) California, to abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities. The references to the FBI, contained in Mr. Walter's remarks, were set forth in an earlier memorandum.

Pages 646-  
650

Congressman Doyle, (D) California, spoke in opposition to the above-mentioned resolution. He commented on the abolition program against the Un-American Activities Committee, etc. by certain groups in this country. This was set forth in an earlier memorandum inasmuch as Mr. Doyle's remarks contained references to the FBI.

ENCLOSURE

HOUSE - Continued

Pages 650-  
655

Congressman Jackson, (R) California, spoke concerning the efforts to abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities. The references to Mr. Hoover and the FBI, contained in Mr. Jackson's remarks, were included in a memorandum written earlier today.

Pages A236-  
A238

Congressman Scherer, (R) Ohio, extended his remarks concerning efforts to abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee and curtail powers of the FBI. He included excerpts from an editorial from the Richmond (Virginia) News Leader, and from an article which appeared in the American Legion Firing Line. The references to the FBI and Mr. Hoover were set forth in an earlier memorandum.

Original filed in:

61-7582-  
100-16-111-  
FEB 13 1959

In the original of a memorandum captioned and dated as above, the Congressional Record for [redacted] was reviewed and pertinent items were marked for the Director's attention. This form has been prepared in order that portions of a copy of the original memorandum may be clipped, mounted, and placed in appropriate Bureau case or subject matter files.

Mr. A. H. Belmont

January 15, 1959

Mr. J. P. Flannery

**COMMUNIST PARTY OF PUERTO RICO;  
HOUSE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES**

San Juan radiogram 1-14-59 advised that on that date

and [redacted] at San Juan, [redacted] called on the same that date. [redacted] said he had been sent to San Juan to conduct interviews with a number of persons with present or past connections with the Communist Party of Puerto Rico (CPP) and wanted clearance from the SAC to interview these persons. Upon questioning, he stated his purpose was to interview them concerning Communist Party (CP) background and to determine what [redacted] might have present or past connections with CPP or CP. He did not know the reason why such an interview program was being conducted except that it might be for the purpose of a survey. Neither did he know whether similar programs would be conducted in other parts of the United States. SAC, San Juan, advised him that under the circumstances, no approval could be given since it appeared that the proposed interviews would be with individuals in a field and concerning a matter within FBI jurisdiction. [redacted] then said he might request INS, Washington, to contact Bureau for necessary authorization. [redacted] did not furnish names of any individuals whom he desired to interview, but had a list in his possession which he said was furnished to him by headquarters.

**RECOMMENDATION:**

Early in December, 1958, [redacted] in San Juan, confidentially advised San Juan Office that [redacted] of the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA) had indicated interest in conducting hearings in San Juan concerning propaganda materials coming into and going out of Puerto Rico. [redacted] to interview people for development for subsequent interview by HCUA. [redacted] said that he would not do so unless he received written instructions to this effect from Washington headquarters.

Enclosures

44-38861-10  
61-7582

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y \_\_\_\_\_

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Nease
- 1 - Mr. Flannery
- 1 - Mr. Coleman
- 1 - Mr. Henry
- 1 - Liaison

10 JAN 16 1959

51 FEB 9 1959

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN  
DATE 2/16/82 BY SP6 b1/4px

61-7582-  
NOT RECORDED  
128 FEB 9 1959

ORIGINAL FILED IN

64-260-47-861



Memorandum for Mr. Belmont  
Re: COMMUNIST PARTY OF PUERTO RICO;  
HOUSE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES  
64-200-48  
61-7582

My memorandum of 12-8-58 captioned "House Committee on Un-American Activities," which is temporarily attached, gave details of this situation pointing out that there are no known aliens in membership of PCP and consequently, no INS interest in those individuals.

On 12-10-58 [ ] confidentially advised Mr. DeLoach that he had requested [ ] to develop potential witnesses for proposed HCUA hearings in Puerto Rico. [ ] desired to hold these hearings since he had information that much mail was being received in Puerto Rico from iron curtain countries. Mr. DeLoach's memorandum of 12-10 is likewise attached temporarily.

b6  
b7C  
b7D

OBSERVATIONS:

From the foregoing background, it appears quite likely that [ ] call at the San Juan Office grows out of [ ] previous request to INS to develop witnesses for a possible HCUA hearing. Whether this be true or not, a program of interviews of the type described by [ ] certainly intrudes upon our jurisdiction and could very easily jeopardize the discharge of our investigative responsibilities. There also exists the possibility of extension of such an interview program by INS throughout the United States (perhaps under the guise of lending assistance to HCUA), which obviously could cause tremendous interference with our work.

Accordingly, it is believed that this situation should be called to the attention of the Attorney General with a copy of the communication being directed to INS and Deputy Attorney General Walsh. The proposed communication should make no mention of the possible HCUA connection with this matter inasmuch as our information in that respect was furnished confidentially by [ ]

b7D

ACTION:

Attache Letter to AG 11/15/59 destroyed and handled through Liaison.

per Director's instructions - See MEMO BELMONT to DIRECTOR 1-16-59.

There is attached for approval a proposed letter to the Attorney General, with a copy for INS and Deputy Attorney General Walsh, in line with these observations.

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson

DATE: 1/15/59

FROM : G. A. Nease

SUBJECT:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 2/16/02 BY SP6 b1Apt

Tolson  
Belmont  
Mohr  
Nease  
Parsons  
Rosen  
Tamm  
Trotter  
W.C. Sullivan  
Tele. Room  
Holmes  
Gandy

Myers Lowman of the Circuit Riders Association of Cincinnati called me on 1/13/59 and I spoke with him again this morning. He advised today that he mailed out last night to two members of the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA), as well as Fulton Lewis and Mr. Edwards of the Chicago Tribune, a copy of a letter that today is going to every member of Congress asking for their support in defeating the Roosevelt resolution to abolish the HCUA. In addition thereto, attached to the letter is six pages devoted to Congressman Celler's record and his communist front affiliations. He stated confidentially he had spoken to [redacted] feels that this will no doubt defeat the Roosevelt resolution.

b7D

Lowman stated he wanted us to know that he did not use any information obtained from HCUA but it was based upon information gathered by his own organization.

Lowman's previous call dealt with James E. Jackson, Jr. He stated that he wanted to be certain we were aware that Jackson's wife, Esther Cooper Jackson, had in the past prepared a pamphlet entitled "This Is My Husband." In this pamphlet she states that her husband made a survey of the status of the Negroes in the Southern states having been given a \$20,000 grant for this purpose. It is Lowman's opinion that the same organization made this grant that financed the Gunnar Mydal study, and it simply afforded Jackson an opportunity to tour the South preaching communist propaganda. Lowman thinks that the Mydal study should be more publicized pointing out that the Carnegie Foundation gave a large grant to the Swedish Sociologist for his study of racial problems in the United States and it was this report which the Supreme Court quoted as a basis for their school integration decision. He stated he has spoken to a couple of state attorneys general to start speaking up on this stuff and he has already documented the communist front affiliations of 19 individuals having worked on the Mydal report.

NOT RECORDED

I received in the mail this morning from Mr. Lowman a copy of the Esther Cooper Jackson pamphlet entitled "This Is My Husband," which is attached hereto. It is recommended that this matter be referred to the Domestic Intelligence Division for their review and consideration.

JAN 23 1959

GAN:hpf

(4)

Enclosures

1 - Mr. Belmont  
1 - Mr. Jones

SUBV. CONTROL

(CONT.)

W. from was this  
published? What do we  
know about it & the Jacksons?

Memo to Mr. Tolson

Mr. Lowman indicated that he had sent me a copy of the above-mentioned letter which is going to all Congressmen but as yet I have not received it. However, there is attached a copy which  had loaned us which he desires to be returned to him.

b7D

*Retained  
11-1-54*

*✓*

*✓*

*YH*



January 15, 1959

[Redacted]  
The Standard-Times  
Post Office Box 912  
New Bedford, Massachusetts

Dear [Redacted]

I read with great interest the two hard-hitting articles by [Redacted] which you sent me concerning the campaign spearheaded by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee to abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee. I know that the impact of his well-documented revelations will leave little doubt in the minds of your readers relative to the fixing of responsibility for the move to discredit and sabotage a congressional committee which is dedicated to safeguarding the American way of life.

It was good of you to bring this series to my attention, and I am confident it will succeed in alerting our people to the devious methods used by the stooges of the Communist Party to attack those not only in law enforcement but in the other professions which are devoted to the preservation of our freedoms.

Sincerely yours, [Redacted]

J. Edgar Hoover

FBI

NOTE: Editorial ticklers show prior correspondence with [Redacted] re: information concerning [Redacted] dated 1-14-59, captioned "Articles Appearing in January 9 and 10, 1959, Issues of 'The Standard-Times', New Bedford, Massachusetts, Concerning the Campaign To Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee." WHS:ijj.

WHS:ijj (6)

NOT RECORDED

176 JAN 23 1959

b6  
b7C

REC'D-READING ROOM

FBI

73-05-8-76  
JAN 15 4 28 PM '59  
JAN 15 1959

MAILED 25

JAN 15 1959

COMM-FBI

Boston

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Boardman \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

ENCLOSURE

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson

DATE: February 3, 1959

FROM : C. D. DeLoach

SUBJECT: HOUSE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES (HCUA)

While talking with [redacted], HCUA, on other matters today, I mentioned that the United Press International ticker had reflected that [redacted] last night at South Bend, Indiana, in a radio discussion with [redacted]

[redacted], had stated there would be a thorough review of U. S. counterespionage laws and policies, including those applying to foreign diplomats. [redacted] was asked in a confidential manner what the [redacted] had in mind.

[redacted] indicated that the above statement was one that he, himself, wrote for [redacted]. He stated it was merely a transposition of a statement which had appeared in an HCUA report dated 1-5-59 concerning foreign espionage matters. (This report was received and analyzed prior to its issuance.) [redacted] stated he merely desired to have some substance in the [redacted] remarks and that [redacted] really had nothing particular in mind.

Enclosure

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Jones

CDD:sak  
(4)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 2/19/01 BY SP6 BT/pt

REG-124

61-7582-4031

FEB 6 1959

ENCLOSURE

one auto copy  
2-11-59  
150

60 FEB 11 1959

ESPIONAGE  
SECTION

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

b7D

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 62-8773

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7/16/82 BY SP6 BJA/pt

UPI-38

(SPIES)

SOUTH BEND, IND.--THE CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES SAID LAST NIGHT ESPIONAGE HAS PRODUCED MUCH OF SOVIET RUSSIA'S SCIENTIFIC PROGRESS.

REP. FRANCIS E. WALTER (D-PA.) SAID SOVIET AGENTS "HAVE ACQUIRED SOME OF OUR SECRETS" THAT HAVE PLAYED A "VITAL ROLE" IN RUSSIAN SUCCESSES.

IN A RADIO DISCUSSION WITH FORMER NOTRE DAME LAW SCHOOL DEAN CLARENCE E. MANION, WALTER SAID HIS COMMITTEE PLANS A THOROUGH REVIEW OF U.S. COUNTERESPIONAGE LAWS AND POLICIES, INCLUDING THOSE APPLYING TO FOREIGN DIPLOMATS.

2/2--E1023A

ENCLOSURE

1 61-7582 - 4031

Back memo to down  
2-3-59  
edd

F B I

Date: February 6, 1959

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plain text or code)

Via \_\_\_\_\_

**AIR-TEL**

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (61-7582)

FROM : SAC, PITTSBURGH (100-13295)

SUBJECT: HCUA HEARINGS*Remylet, 7/14/59*

On 2/4/59, [redacted] advised they had been contacted telephonically from Washington, D. C., by GEORGE WILLIAMS, HCUA Investigator, and informed that WILLIAMS would like to meet with them in [redacted] approximately [redacted] to prepare for the hearings now tentatively scheduled for [redacted]

b7D

Washington Field is requested to furnish Pittsburgh any information that is obtained concerning these hearings.

- 3 - Bureau (RM)
- 1 - Washington Field (100-22169)(RM)
- 1 - Pittsburgh

DGH:cmg  
(5)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 2/16/62 BY SP6 BAA/pt

**AIR-TEL**

REC-17

61-7582-4032

12 FEB 9 1959

66 FEB 12 1959  
*just*  
*delivered to Schultz, 1252*

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M

Per \_\_\_\_\_

1 - Mr. Haack  
1 - Mr. Rachner  
1 - Mr. Coakley  
1 - Mr. Schultz

SAC, Pittsburgh

February 9, 1959

Director, FBI

HOUSE COMMITTEE ON  
UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES  
INFORMATION CONCERNING  
(Subversive Control)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 2/16/62 BY SP4 BIR/pt

ReBulet to Houston dated 11-20-58 under instant caption, copies designated for Pittsburgh and New York. Information has been received that the House Committee on Un-American Activities now contemplates holding hearings in the Pittsburgh area around the first of March and intends to subpoena several of the following individuals.

Pittsburgh is office of origin in all instances except where New York is indicated as origin.

Name	Bufile
Nathan Albert	100-46941
Robert Bornholz	100-291858
Bessie Chosky	100-415034
Thomas James Fitzpatrick	100-326165 New York origin
Herbert Glickman	100-202357
[Redacted]	100-368984
Robert Edward Jones	100-365945
Gabor Kish, Jr.	100-46268
Genne Eva Kuhn	100-260690
Edmund Lange	100-337437
[Redacted]	100-327509
J. B. Richardson	100-377852
Joseph Rudiak	100-362099
[Redacted]	100-201171 New York origin
[Redacted]	100-383463 New York origin
Maurice Shindler	100-125019

2 - New York

RES:lmk  
(9)

Note on yellow, page 2.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

60 FEB 13 1959

FEB 9 1959  
RECEIVED

EX-135 REC-66

13 FEB 10 1959

b6  
b7C

Letter to SAC, Pittsburgh  
Re: House Committee on  
Un-American Activities

[redacted]  
Miriam Rose Schultz  
Alexander Staber  
Alex Steinberg

[redacted]  
Thomas Boughton Wright  
Richard Neibur

100-366159  
100-215102  
100-124110  
100-64676  
100-362882  
100-383113  
100-371071  
100-260129

b6  
b7c

Pittsburgh and New York should be governed by  
instructions set forth in relet.

NOTE ON YELLOW:

All individuals have been subjects of security  
investigations, most presently on SI. Relet advised of  
HCUA schedule for 1959 and set forth instructions to  
field in these matters.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

FEB 9 1959

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

URGENT 2-9-59 5-30 PM PST KFJ

TO DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM SAC, LOS ANGELES 1P

HOUSE COMMITTEE ON UNAMERICAN ACTIVITIES HEARINGS, LOS ANGELES, CALIF.,  
INFO CONCERNING. WILLIAM WHEELER, LOS ANGELES REPRESENTATIVE, HCUA,  
ADVISED TODAY HE RECEIVED TELEPHONE CALL FROM HCUA, WASHINGTON, INSTRU-  
CTING HIM TO DELETE ELEVEN NAMES FROM CURRENT GROUP GEING SUBPOENAED PER  
REQUEST OF FBI, WASHINGTON, D.C. WHEELER STATES REPORT HE PLANS  
TO MAKE PUBLIC AFTER HEARINGS WOULD BE ADVERSELY AFFECTED IF FOLLOWING  
PERSONS NOT SUBPOENAED. [REDACTED] AARON COHEN, DOROTHY FOREST,  
AND MAX STEINBERG. IN VIEW OF IMPORTANCE TO WHEELER THAT THESE PERSONS  
BE SUBPOENAED, LOS ANGELES RECOMMENDS BUREAU CONSIDER ASKING HCUA,  
WASHINGTON, TO ALLOW THESE PERSONS BE SUBPOENAED.

END ACK PLS

8-31PM OK FBI WACRA

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 2/16/82 BY 326

REC- 46

EX 105

FEB 12 1959

Mr. Belmont

cc/Blair

Memorandum to HCB dated 2-10-59  
L.P. w/ airtel to LA, same date.

67 FEB 16 1959



## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (U)TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont *MB*

DATE: February 6, 1959 (U)

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner *FJB*ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISESUBJECT: HOUSE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN  
ACTIVITIES (HCUA) HEARINGS  
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA  
INFORMATION CONCERNINGCLASS. & EXT. BY  
REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2  
DATE OF REVIEW 2/16/02Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_McGuire  
W.C. Sullivan

The HCUA Subcommittee will hold executive hearings at Los Angeles (LA) starting 2-23-59. Bill Wheeler, LA representative, HCUA, has advised HCUA, Washington, D. C., has approved a list of (approximately 40) prospective persons to be subpoenaed (this list includes [redacted] all current informants and Communist Party (CP) members in LA). It is contemplated subpoenas will be issued and served by U. S. Marshal and local law enforcement agencies starting 2-9-59.

LA states if all subpoenas issued [redacted] District Council members of the CP and/or alternates will remain who have not been subpoenaed by HCUA. Of the [redacted] are current informants and all will logically be placed under grave suspicion by the Party.

LA is of opinion if [redacted] are subpoenaed and plead the Fifth Amendment it might result in the termination of their informant relationship for the following reasons:

[redacted] (developed [redacted] currently paid on monthly c.o.d. basis up to \$400 for services plus \$65 for expenses) would lose employment at [redacted] (developed [redacted] currently paid on monthly c.o.d. basis up to \$150 for services plus \$15 for expenses) would encounter difficulty in connection with her employment with [redacted] It would also cause embarrassment to [redacted]

[redacted] (developed [redacted] currently paid on weekly c.o.d. basis up to \$36.25 for services plus \$10 for expenses) and his wife, [redacted] (developed [redacted] currently paid on weekly c.o.d. basis up to \$36.25 for services plus \$10 for expenses) have stated they would terminate their informant relationship if they appeared before HCUA because of adverse publicity which could be expected in the small suburban area where they reside.

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. Rose
- 1 - 61-7582

1 - [redacted]  
1 - [redacted]  
1 - [redacted]

BFR:ssh 68 FEB 16 1959

REC-46

61-7582-4035

FEB 12 1959

SEC.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (U)



Memorandum for Mr. Belmont  
RE: HCUA HEARINGS  
61-7582

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (U)

[redacted] (developed [redacted] currently paid on monthly c.o.d. basis up to \$175 for services plus \$35 for expenses) and his wife, [redacted] (developed [redacted], currently paid on monthly c.o.d. basis up to \$105 for services plus \$30 for expenses) have stated they would be compelled to terminate their informant relationship if they appeared before HCUA because of adverse economic and social results. (U) b7D

OBSERVATIONS:

The LA Office has recommended that in order to divert suspicion away from our informants the HCUA be requested not to subpoena [redacted] Council members of the CP in the LA area currently being considered as witnesses. [redacted] members not to be subpoenaed would include [redacted] (U) b6 b7C b7D

RECOMMENDATION:

To preclude the loss of [redacted] and their wives who are also informants; to afford further protection to [redacted] other informants who have not been subpoenaed; it is recommended HCUA be requested to refrain from issuing subpoenas to the three informants above-listed and [redacted] District Council members as follows: Fred Cannon, Dorothy Cate, Aaron Cohen, [redacted] Dorothy Forest, [redacted] Max Steinberg, Arvilla Jackson, [redacted] [redacted] (U)

Subject to your approval it is recommended this memorandum be forwarded to Mr. DeLoach in order that [redacted] HCUA, b7D may be immediately contacted and requested on a confidential basis not to subpoena the above-listed individuals.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ 1/19/59 - into Area - they will not be subpoenaed - (U) 2/19

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner

SUBJECT: HOUSE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN  
ACTIVITIES (HCUA) HEARINGS  
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA  
INFORMATION CONCERNINGALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (U)

DATE: February 10, 1959

1 - Mr. DeLoach  
1 - Mr. Belmont  
1 - Mr. Baumgardner  
1 - Mr. RoseTolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
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Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_CLASS & EXT. BY  
REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2  
DATE OF REVIEW 2/16/92

In connection with the above hearings LA airtel 2-3-59 recommended that in order to divert suspicion away from our informants that HCUA be requested not to subpoena [redacted] Council members of the Communist Party (CP) in the LA area. [redacted] members not to be subpoenaed would include [redacted] ) (U)

Bumemo from Baumgardner to Belmont as above-captioned dated 2-6-59 recommended and approved Mr. DeLoach contact [redacted]

HCUA, and on a confidential basis suggest that the following persons not be subpoenaed: Fred Cannon, Dorothy Cate, Aaron Cohen, [redacted] Dorothy Forest, [redacted] Max Steinberg, Arvilla Jackson, [redacted]

contacted on 2-9-59 at which time he advised above persons would not be subpoenaed.

Latel 2-9-59 states William Wheeler, LA representative, HCUA, received telephone call from HCUA, Washington, D. C., instructing him to delete [redacted] names from current group being subpoenaed per request of FBI, Washington, D. C. Wheeler states report he plans to make public after hearings would be adversely affected if [redacted] Aaron Cohen, Dorothy Forest, and Max Steinberg, are not subpoenaed. LA recommends Bureau consider asking HCUA to allow these persons to be subpoenaed.

OBSERVATIONS:

Based on the recommendation of the LAO as set forth in their airtel dated 2-3-59 and to divert suspicion away from our informants, it was deemed necessary and advisable to contact [redacted] HCUA, on 2-9-59 and suggest that [redacted] persons not be subpoenaed in connection with HCUA hearings in LA. [redacted] Aaron Cohen, Dorothy Forest, and Max Steinberg were included among these [redacted] persons.

It remains imperative that every precaution be taken to protect and safeguard our informants and in view of the action taken by [redacted] for the Bureau it is deemed inadvisable that he be recontacted regarding the issuance of subpoenas by the HCUA in the LA area.

Enclosure

61-7582

1 - [redacted]  
1 - [redacted]  
1 - [redacted]  
BFR:ssh (8)

REC-46

EX 105

17 FEB 12 1959

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (U)

b7D

UNRECORDED COPY FILED

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (U)

Memorandum for Mr. Belmont  
RE: HCUA HEARINGS  
61-7582

ACTION:

There is attached for transmittal to the LAO an airtel advising that it is imperative that every precaution be taken to protect and safeguard Bureau informants and in view of action taken by [ ] at the suggestion of the Bureau, he is not being recontacted regarding subpoenas to be issued in connection with the HCUA hearings in LA.

b7D

*MR. J. E. [unclear]*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (U)

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (61-7582)

DATE: 2/6/59

FROM : SAC, HOUSTON (100-9523)

SUBJECT: HOUSE COMMITTEE ON  
UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES  
INFORMATION CONCERNING  
SUBVERSIVE CONTROLALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 2/10/82 BY SP6 bja

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. Belmont	
Mr. DeLoach	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Parsons	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Sullivan	
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Mr. Holloman	
Miss Gandy	

Re: Houston letter to Bureau, 1/20/59.

On 1/23/59, WILLIAM WHEELER, West Coast Representative, HCUA, telephonically contacted SA [redacted] and advised that he had just met with officials of the Texas Department of Public Safety. WHEELER said that the meeting was a disappointment to him, in that he had previously been led to expect that he could use the services of a State Informant in the proposed June hearings. The Department's thinking on the matter was that if they could ally themselves with the hearing, while the State Legislature was in session it would probably be of assistance to them in seeking appropriations for the Intelligence Section.

b6  
b7c

WHEELER said he was advised at the most recent meeting that the State definitely would not furnish him with their informant, since it would leave them without any coverage of the CP in Texas.

WHEELER further advised that he had learned that some representatives of the United States Senate Investigating Committee had been in Austin and had met with some state officials concerning proposed Senate hearings. The Senate representatives apparently met with some cooperation and WHEELER felt that the Senate might hold hearings in Texas prior to June. He said, this of course would cut the ground out from under the HCUA hearings, and if Senate hearings were held, he would probably recommend that the HCUA cancel its proposed hearings for the present.

WHEELER said that he would normally have recommended that HCUA merely move its hearings up to March, 1959, but

- ② - Bureau (RM)
- 2 - Dallas (Info.) (RM)
- 2 - El Paso (Info.) (RM)
- 2 - San Antonio (Info.) (RM)
- 2 - Houston

REC-75

EX 105

61-7582-104037  
13 FEB 11 1959

DWM:gjg

(39) FEB 11 1959

HO 100-9523

since the Committee had prior commitments at that time, he did not see how simultaneous hearings could be held.

Mr. WHEELER further stated that he was then on his way to California, but in the event he returned to Houston, he would advise. Mr. WHEELER sought no information and none was offered.

DIRECTOR, FBI

2/11/59

SAC, BOSTON (100-32677)

[REDACTED]  
SM - C

ReBoslet to Bureau 12/11/58

On 1/8/59 SA FRANK P. WILLETTE procured a photograph of a photograph of one [REDACTED] from Miss [REDACTED] University of New Hampshire, Durham, N.H. This individual was a student at the University of New Hampshire from [REDACTED]

b6  
b7c

On 2/5/59 this photograph was exhibited by SA PHILIP F. MCCARTHY to [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] She stated she was unable to identify the photograph as being that of the subject, and that because of the lapse of time she was doubtful if she would be able to identify [REDACTED]

In the absence of instructions to the contrary, no further action will be taken in this matter at Boston.

3-Bureau REGISTERED MAIL

(1- 61-7582, HUCA, N.E. Area)

2-Boston

(1- 100-32353, HUCA, N.E. Area)

LHB:efh

(5)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 01/6/82 BY [REDACTED] b6 b7c

161-7582-  
NOT RECORDED  
175 FEB 16 1959

66 FEB 17 1959

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-





F B I

Date: 2/3/59

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. McGuire	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Parsons	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tamm	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Mr. W.C. Sullivan	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Holloman	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL ~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED~~  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE  
AIR MAIL - REGISTERED  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (61-7582)

FROM: SAC, LOS ANGELES (62-1664)

SUBJECT: HCUA  
INFORMATION CONCERNING  
SUBVERSIVE CONTROL

CLASS. & EXT. BY 16/82 Sp6 J/72  
REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2  
DATE OF REVIEW 2/16/92  
ALL AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF 3/16/82  
DATE 3/16/82

Re Los Angeles airtel 1/30/59. DATE

Information received 2/3/59 from BILL WHEELER, Los Angeles representative, HCUA, that the HCUA, Washington, D.C., has approved the list of prospective subpoenaees (which includes three current Los Angeles informants; [redacted] and [redacted]). It is expected that subpoenaes will actually be issued and served starting 2/9/59 and will be served by U. S. Marshal and local law enforcement agencies. (U)

Analysis of persons subpoenaed in fall of 1958 and current list for forthcoming hearings reflects that approximately 46 out of 60 District Council members and/or alternates will have been subpoenaed at one or both hearings. The District Council is one of highest policy-making bodies in Southern California District Communist Party (SCDCP).

If all subpoenaes issued, only 14 District Council members and/or alternates will remain who have not been subpoenaed at last or current hearing. Of the 14, 8 are current informants Los Angeles Division. Therefore when the HCUA report on the SCDCP is subsequently issued, the 14 District Council members, including the 8 informants, would logically be under grave suspicion by the Party. (U)

- 1cc - Am 1244  
③ - Bureau (AIR MAIL) (REGISTERED)  
5 - Los Angeles (62-1664) (100-1763) ORGANIZATION

EFL:DRU  
(8)

REC-93

2 FEB 5 1959

66 FEB 17 1959

Approved: B/60

Sent

M

Per

Special Agent in Charge

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (U)

In the opinion of the Los Angeles Office, if the informants were to appear and stand on the Fifth, it might result in the termination of the informant relationship for the following reasons:

[redacted] (U)

This informant would lose employment at [redacted]

would very likely lose her employment with the [redacted]

This has been the position of this informant in the past together with the position that his appearance before HCUA would cause embarrassment to [redacted]. (U)

b7D

[redacted] (U)

It is noted that this informant's wife is [redacted] and both have previously indicated that they would have to terminate informant relationship if they had to appear before HCUA because of adverse economic and social results. (U)

[redacted] (U)

This informant has previously said it would be necessary for him to terminate his relationship as Bureau informant as well as that of his wife, who is [redacted] if he were to appear before the HCUA because of adverse publicity which could be expected to result in the small suburban area where he resides. (U)

Thus it is noted that actually there are [redacted] current informants involved since the wives of the above-mentioned informants would also be terminated. (U)

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b7C  
b7D

Based on positions of informants as set out above and in order to broaden the suspicion among more persons and lessen danger to informants, it is recommended that Bureau request HCUA not to subpoena [redacted] District Council members currently being considered for subpoena, which would include the three informants. (U)

Los Angeles recommends the following [redacted] District Council members, in addition to the informants, who should not be subpoenaed: FRED CANNON, DOROTHY CATE, AARON COHEN, [redacted], DOROTHY FOREST, [redacted], MAX STEINBERG, ARVILLA JACKSON. (U)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (U)

1 - Mr. DeLoa  
1 - Mr. Belmont  
1 - Mr. Baumgardner  
1 - Mr. Rose

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (U)

February 10, 1959

AIRTEL

To: SAC, Los Angeles (62-1664)

From: Director, FBI (61-7582)

HOUSE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES (HCUA) HEARINGS,  
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA, INFORMATION CONCERNING

b7D

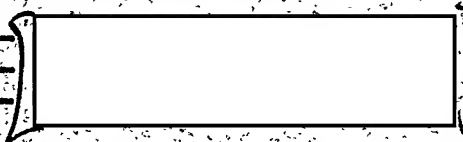
Reurairtel 2-3-59 and urtel 2-9-59.

Based on your recommendation as set forth in reairtel and to divert suspicion away from Bureau informants, Mr. Arens, Chief Counsel, HCUA, was contacted on 2-9-59 at which time it was suggested that 11 persons listed in reairtel not be subpoenaed in connection with HCUA hearings in Los Angeles. (U)

It remains imperative that every precaution be taken to protect and safeguard Bureau informants and in view of action taken by Mr. Arens at the suggestion of the Bureau, he is not being recontacted regarding subpoenas to be issued in connection with the HCUA hearings in Los Angeles.

NOTE: See memo Baumgardner to Belmont dated 2-10-59 captioned as above, BFR:ssh.

1 -  
1 -  
1 -



b7D

BFR:ssh  
(12)

MAILED 19  
FEB 10 1959  
COMM-FBI

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (U)

68 FEB 17 1959

MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF  
DATE 3/16/59 S.M.W.

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI (61-7582)

DATE: 2/13/59

FROM : SAC, Atlanta (100-5762)

SUBJECT: HCUA, HEARINGS  
ATLANTA DIV.

Remylet 12/31/58.

This is to advise the Atlanta Office has completed the review of the testimony relating to HCUA hearings held in Atlanta 7/29,30 and 31/58, and is currently in the process of preparing memoranda regarding individuals mentioned therein, setting out specific leads for the offices where persons presently reside so that they may be handled in accordance with previous Bureau instructions.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 2/16/82 BY [signature]

REC-91

61-7582-4041

24 FEB 16 1959

2 - Bureau (RM)  
AtlantaAFM:hs  
(3)

52 FEB 20 1959

SUPREMACY

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson

DATE: February 3, 1959

FROM : C. D. DeLoach

SUBJECT: REQUEST FOR ADDRESSES  
CONTEMPLATED HEARINGS  
PITTSBURGH, PENNSYLVANIA  
MARCH, 1959  
HOUSE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN

DATE 2/22/59

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent Joseph A. Connors, Jr., of the Washington Field Office (WFO) who conducts name checks at the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA) for the WFO brought to Wick yesterday the attached listing of individuals (3 pages) which had been given to him by Dick Arens of the Committee.

Arens explained that HCUA contemplates holding hearings in Pittsburgh around the first of March and intends to subpoena several of the individuals whose names appear on the attached list.

REQUEST OF ARENS:

First of all, Mr. Arens would like to have the home address, occupation, business affiliation and business address of each person named in the attached list. Secondly, it is the Committee's desire to subpoena some ten to twelve current members of the Communist Party in Pittsburgh. He told Connors that several of the persons named on the attached list may be communists but, if not, he wondered whether we could supply him with names of such individuals so as to give substance to the hearings.

SA Connors said Arens desired the above data within two weeks if at all possible.

RECOMMENDATION:

## ENCLOSURE

That the attached list and this memorandum be forwarded to the Domestic Intelligence Division for consideration and handling, and upon completion returned to my office, and I will handle with Arens.

Enclosure

ENCLOSURE

1 - Mr. Belmont

1 - Mr. Jones

REW:geg 2/13/59

(4) 52 FEB 19 1959 ES/cur

REC-14

61-75850-4042  
25 FEB 17 1959

SUB. PPT.

All of the following individuals are believed to now  
reside in the Pittsburgh area unless otherwise indicated:

1. ~~NATHAN~~ ALBERT  
Date of birth: Unknown  
White, male  
Believed to have formerly resided at 175 Orchard Drive,  
Crest Hills, located in Penn Township, Pa.
2. ROBERT H. ~~BORNHOLZ~~  
Date of birth: July 21, 1902 Pa.
3.   
Date of birth: Unknown  
Resided in Pittsburgh in 1955 Pa.  
b6  
b7C
4. ~~TOM~~ FITZPATRICK  
Date of birth: Unknown Pa.  
Former UE organizer in Pittsburgh area; alleged to have recently  
moved to New York
5. HERBERT ~~GLICKMAN~~ B. APPROX. 1919  
Date of birth: Unknown; approx. 40 years old Pa.  
Former insurance salesman
6.   
Date of birth: Unknown Pa.  
Active in youth work on University of Pittsburgh campus
7. BOBBY ~~JONES~~ B. APPROX. 1919 Pa.  
Date of birth: Unknown; approx. 40 years old  
Negro  
Active in Hotel and Restaurant Workers
8. GABOR ~~KISH~~ Pa.  
Date of birth: Unknown  
Alleged to be employed with Natural Gas Heating Co.,  
713 Buena Vista, Pittsburgh

ENCLOSURE

(2)

61-75821-4042

9. JEAN CROCKER KUHN  
Date of birth: Unknown  
Alleged to be head of CP in West Virginia and believed to reside  
in Wheeling
10. EDWARD LANG  
Date of birth: Unknown  
In 1956, resided at 1317 James St., North Side, Pa.
11. [REDACTED]  
Date of birth: Unknown  
Resides Valencia, Pa.
12. J. B. RICHARDSON  
Date of birth: Unknown  
Believed to be Negro Pa.
13. JOSEPH RUDIAK  
Date of birth: Unknown  
In 1956, resided at 1908 Jane St., Pittsburgh Pa.
14. [REDACTED] B. APPROX. [REDACTED]  
Date of birth: Unknown; approx. [REDACTED] Pa.  
Alleged to have moved to New York City
15. [REDACTED] B. APPROX. [REDACTED] Pa.  
Date of birth: Unknown; approx. [REDACTED]  
Alleged to have moved to New York City
16. [REDACTED]  
Date of birth: Unknown  
In 1958, resided at [REDACTED] Pa.
17. [REDACTED]  
Date of birth: Unknown  
In 1958, believed to be [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] Pa.

b6  
b7C

18.

[redacted]  
Date of birth: Unknown

In 1954, resided at [redacted] Pa.

19.

ALEX ~~X~~ STABOR B. APPROX. 1904

Date of birth: Unknown; approx. 55 years old

Formerly employed at General Electric in Erie

In 1951, resided at 1306 Parade St., Erie, Pa.

b6  
b7C

20.

ALEX ~~X~~ STEINBERG

Date of birth: July 11, 1914 Pa

In 1958, was an artist, Beacon Studios, 5542 Jackson St., Pittsburgh

21.

[redacted]  
Date of birth: Unknown

Pa.

22.

[redacted]  
Date of birth: [redacted] Pa.

In 1956, resided at [redacted] Pa.

23. Tom WRIGHT

EDITOR U.E NEWS - O.K. to extend ?

N.Y.C.

24. Richard NIEBUR - add. only

U.E Organizer - Ohio

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. A. H. BELMONT *ABW*

DATE: February 13, 1959

FROM : MR. J. F. BLAND *JFB*

SUBJECT: REQUEST FOR ADDRESSES  
CONTEMPLATED HEARINGS  
PITTSBURGH, PENNSYLVANIA  
MARCH, 1959  
HOUSE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 2/22/82 BY SP6 BJA

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Re memorandum DeLoach to Tolson 2-3-59.

Rememo set forth a request from Dick Arens of the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA) for the residence addresses, occupations, and employment of 24 individuals, several of whom HCUA intends to subpoena in connection with their Pittsburgh hearings in 3-59. Arens commented that several of the 24 individuals named may be communists but, if not, he requested that we supply him with the names of such individuals so as to give substance to the hearings.

Attached is a memorandum setting forth the most recent known residences and employment of the individuals in question. It will be noted that the names of all individuals are in general agreement with those furnished by Arens with the exception of their individual number six, [redacted] who may be identical with [redacted]

All 24 individuals have a history of Communist Party (CP) membership and activity. The following presently hold positions of leadership in the Pittsburgh area: Nathan Albert, Genne Kuhn, [redacted] Alexander Staber, Alex Steinberg, and [redacted]. The following individuals have participated in CP activities in the Pittsburgh area within the past year: Thomas Fitzpatrick, Edmund Lange, and [redacted]

RECOMMENDATION:

That this information be referred to Mr. DeLoach.

Enclosure

EX 105

REC-14

Handled with  
Arens 2/16/59 -

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Bland
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Schultz

RES:aim *aim*

(5)

52 FEB 19 1959

61-7582-4043  
25 FEB 17 1959

SUBJECT



DIRECTOR, FBI (100-14735)

2/12/59

SAC, PITTSBURGH (100-1661)

76172

THEODORE WRIGHT  
SM - C

ReBulet 2/9/59, captioned "HOUSE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES, INFORMATION CONCERNING (SUBVERSIVE CONTROL)," which set forth a list of prospective witnesses for hearings contemplated in Pittsburgh area around first of March, 1959.

Aforementioned list included one THOMAS BOUGHTON WRIGHT (Bufile 100-371071). No information identifiable with THOMAS BOUGHTON WRIGHT can be located in the files of the Pittsburgh Office, and it is felt that this individual may have been inadvertently listed instead of THEODORE WRIGHT (Bufile 100-14735), who was reportedly contacted by HCUA investigators about December, 1958.

No pertinent information concerning THEODORE WRIGHT has been received since submission of report of SA [redacted], Pittsburgh, dated 1/15/59, and no further report is being submitted concerning THEODORE WRIGHT with regard to Bureau's instructions pertaining to HCUA hearings, UACB.

b6  
b7c

Bureau is requested to advise whether THEODORE WRIGHT should have been listed in reBulet rather than THOMAS BOUGHTON WRIGHT.

- 4 - Bureau REGISTERED  
(1 - 100-371071 THOMAS BOUGHTON WRIGHT)  
(1 - 61-7582 HCUA HEARINGS)  
2 - Pittsburgh  
(1 - 100-13295 HCUA HEARINGS)

AER:orm  
(6)

52 FEB 18 1959

61-7582  
NOT RECORDED  
168 FEB 16 1959

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-124935-70

**AIRTEL**

F B I

Date: 2/10/59

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL REGISTERED  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, LOS ANGELES (62-1664)

RE: HOUSE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES  
(HCUA);  
INFORMATION CONCERNING. CINAL.

WILLIAM WHEELER, Investigator, HCUA, advises that subpoenas currently being served on 40 to 50 active members of the Southern California District Communist Party to appear at executive hearings beginning February 23rd. At the conclusion of these hearings the Committee will release a report on the organization and program of the Communist Party in Southern California.

- 3 - Bureau (AM REGISTERED)  
1 - San Francisco (Info) (REGISTERED)  
1 - Los Angeles (62-1664)  
1 - Los Angeles 100-43372 (CINAL)

WNP:bla  
(6)

901 XEN  
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 2/27/80 BY SP6 BIA/pt do

REC-12

FEB 12 1959

**AIRTEL**Approved: B/4 Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

FEB 18 1959

F B I

Date: 2-10-59

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. McGuire	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Parsons	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tamm	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Mr. W.C. Sullivan	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Holloman	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (61-7582)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-22169)

HCUA,

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 2/28/85 BY SP-3 BT

DONALD APPEL, HCUA, on 2-10-59, advised SA JOSEPH A. CONNORS, JR., that he had received a telephone call from [redacted] formerly a reporter with the old Washington Times-Herald. [redacted] told APPEL that he had received a telephone call from [redacted] who wanted who wanted to buy [redacted] library on Communism for use in connection with a book that [redacted] was going to write on Communism. According to APPEL, [redacted] formerly made a study of Communism in connection with his reporting and had accumulated material in this field. [redacted] presently has a room at [redacted] lives at [redacted] Va., Temple 6-6172.

APPEL said that [redacted] apparently is hard pressed financially and he does not know if [redacted] called for the purpose of passing on information or to ask for a personal loan. APPEL turned down his request for a loan because of a previous loan that was never repaid. Above for information.

WFO indices negative re [redacted]

- 3 - Bureau  
1 - Richmond (Info)  
1 - WFO  
JAC:cjv/SKR  
(5)

AIRTEL

REC-15

61-7582-4045

25 FEB 17 1959

Approved: FUB/jjo

Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

M

Per \_\_\_\_\_

Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Records Branch2/12, 1959

<input type="checkbox"/>	Name Check Unit - Room 6523
<input type="checkbox"/>	Service Unit - Room 6524
<input type="checkbox"/>	Forward to File Review
<input type="checkbox"/>	Attention _____
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Return to <u>Higgins</u> <u>1254</u>
	Supervisor Room Ext.

## Type of References Requested:

<input type="checkbox"/>	Regular Request (Analytical Search)
<input type="checkbox"/>	All References (Subversive & Nonsubversive)
<input type="checkbox"/>	Subversive References Only
<input type="checkbox"/>	Nonsubversive References Only
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Main <u>files</u> References Only

## Type of Search Requested:

<input type="checkbox"/>	Restricted to Locality of _____
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Exact Name Only (On the Nose)
<input type="checkbox"/>	Buildup <input type="checkbox"/> Variations
<input type="checkbox"/>	Check for Alphabetical Loyalty Form

Subject  b6  
b7C  
 Birthdate & Place \_\_\_\_\_  
 Address \_\_\_\_\_

## Localities \_\_\_\_\_

R# \_\_\_\_\_ Date 2/12 Searcher Initials wjs  
 FILE NUMBER SERIAL

<u>NY</u> ✓	<u>25-42815</u> ✓
	<u>sum.</u>
<u>NY</u> ✓	<span style="border: 1px solid black; display: inline-block; width: 150px; height: 20px; vertical-align: middle;"></span>
<u>NY</u> ✓	<u>29-17218</u> ✓
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<u>NY</u> ✓	<u>62-81175</u> ✓
<u>NY</u> ✓	<u>116-35804</u> ✓
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	<u>116-376829</u> ✓

*File 1/18*

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## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (61-7582)

DATE: 2-12-59

FROM : *RUB*  
*apx* SAC, WFO (100-22169)SUBJECT: HCUA, *attention E Records Section*

HCUA has prepared a report entitled Communist Legal Subversion - The Role of the Communist Lawyer. This publication will be released by the Committee on 2-16-59. A copy of the report together with a copy of the Committee press release is enclosed for the Bureau.

2 - Bureau (Encls. 2)  
1 - WFO

JAC:rlm  
(3)

7/13/59  
a copy of this  
report is being  
forwarded to  
Bureau in  
enclosure  
DATE 3/28/82 BY SP6  
ENCLOSURE ATTACHED  
2 ENCLOSURE

EX-102

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FOR RELEASE MONDAY, FEBRUARY 16, 1959

COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

Communist lawyers rank as part of an elite core within the Communist Fifth Column on American soil, the House Committee on Un-American Activities declared in a report, Communist Legal Subversion, made public today.

The report summarizes the records of 39 of the more than 100 lawyers who have been identified before the Committee as members of the Communist Party. Their activities include abuse of the courts, misbehavior before Congressional committees, circumvention of the law, espionage, subversion in government, and propaganda for Communist causes.

Such activities on the part of lawyers who have been identified as Communist Party members, the Committee said, create "a vital problem" which is summarized in these questions:

How can a lawyer maintain his oath to uphold and defend the Constitution of the United States when he is an agent of a conspiratorial apparatus designed to destroy the Constitution?

How can a lawyer carry out his duty to serve the interests of a client if he is under Communist discipline which subordinates professional loyalties to the interests of the Communist Party?

How can a lawyer meet the high standard of ethics and conduct, historically required of members of the bar, if he exploits the know-how and prestige of his profession in behalf of Communist propaganda, subversion, and espionage?

The Committee emphasized that Communist lawyers "represent only a fraction of the total number of individuals engaged in the practice of law in the United States," and that the report "should not be construed as a reflection on the overwhelming majority of the legal profession, in whose loyalty and patriotism the Committee has the highest confidence." The Committee praised the American Bar Association for its concern over the activities of Communist lawyers. The Committee noted that the American Bar Association has established a Special Committee on Communist Tactics, Strategy and Objectives, and that the Association has adopted a number of recommendations directly relating to communism and Communist lawyers.

The report states:

"The mechanics of legal subversion extend far beyond any legitimate process of legal representation. They embrace the efforts of a conspiratorial minority, trained in the use of the legal instruments of our society, to turn those instruments into weapons for the destruction of our free society."

It continues:

"While relatively few in number, the principals in this operation enjoy a far disproportionate influence in the American community as a result of a combination of legal training, schooling in Communist subversive techniques and the fact that they have behind them the entire Communist apparatus and are made the subjects of favorable publicity build-ups on the part of the Communist Party, its fronts and fellow travelers in all walks of life."

- 2 -

"The fact that identified Communist lawyers are very much in a minority does not alter the seriousness of the situation whereby agents of the Communist Party, by gaining entry into the legal profession, are in a unique position to serve as instruments for those who would pervert the very democratic processes a lawyer is sworn to defend."

"Under the mantle of the legal profession, the Communist can operate as an ostensibly respectable and influential member of the community despite his dedication and subservience to Communist doctrines and directives."

"The frequency of their appearances before our most important and highly respected democratic institutions is evidence of the prominence attained by Communists who have been admitted to the bar. They appear not only before Congressional committees but, because of their highly respected profession, are given free access to executive agencies, such as the Immigration and Naturalization Service, and to the State and Federal courts, including our highest tribunal--the United States Supreme Court."

"In the past decade alone, identified Communist lawyers appeared in person before the United States Supreme Court or were on the principal brief in at least 32 important cases adjudicated by the Court on some vital issue affecting the operations of the Communist Party itself."

"This report must not be construed as a reflection on the right and privilege of legal representation for Communists. The cherished American concept of the right to counsel must never be denied even to Communist conspirators who would render such concepts meaningless if their efforts to subvert our Government were to succeed."

\*\*\*\*\*



COMMUNIST LEGAL SUBVERSION  
THE ROLE OF THE COMMUNIST LAWYER

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REPORT

BY THE

COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
EIGHTY-SIXTH CONGRESS  
FIRST SESSION



FOR RELEASE

FEBRUARY 16, 1959  
(Including Index)

FEB 16 1959

PLEASE GUARD AGAINST  
PREMATURE RELEASE

Printed for the use of the Committee on Un-American Activities

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UNITED STATES  
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WASHINGTON : 1959

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## COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

### UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

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RICHARD ARENS, *Staff Director*

II

61-7582-4046

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PUBLIC LAW 601, 79TH CONGRESS

The legislation under which the House Committee on Un-American Activities operates is Public Law 601, 79th Congress [1946], chapter 753, 2d session, which provides:

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, \* \* \**

PART 2—RULES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

RULE X

SEC. 121. STANDING COMMITTEES

\* \* \* \* \*

17. Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine Members.

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

- \* \* \* \* \*
- (q) (1) Committee on Un-American Activities.  
(A) Un-American activities.  
(2) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (i) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (ii) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (iii) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

The Committee on Un-American Activities shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) the results of any such investigation, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committee on Un-American Activities, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, and to take such testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any member designated by any such chairman, and may be served by any person designated by any such chairman or member.

\* \* \* \* \*

RULE XII

LEGISLATIVE OVERSIGHT BY STANDING COMMITTEES

SEC. 136. To assist the Congress in appraising the administration of the laws and in developing such amendments or related legislation as it may deem necessary, each standing committee of the Senate and the House of Representatives shall exercise continuous watchfulness of the execution by the administrative agencies concerned of any laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of such committee; and, for that purpose, shall study all pertinent reports and data submitted to the Congress by the agencies in the executive branch of the Government.

RULES ADOPTED BY THE 86TH CONGRESS

House Resolution 7, January 7, 1959

\* \* \* \* \*

RULE X

STANDING COMMITTEES

1. There shall be elected by the House, at the commencement of each Congress,

- \* \* \* \* \*
- (g) Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine Members.
- \* \* \* \* \*

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

\* \* \* \* \*

17. Committee on Un-American Activities.

(a) Un-American activities.

(b) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (1) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (2) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (3) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

The Committee on Un-American Activities shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) the results of any such investigation, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committee on Un-American Activities, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, and to take such testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any member designated by any such chairman, and may be served by any person designated by any such chairman or member.

\* \* \* \* \*

26. To assist the House in appraising the administration of the laws and in developing such amendments or related legislation as it may deem necessary, each standing committee of the House shall exercise continuous watchfulness of the execution by the administrative agencies concerned of any laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of such committee; and, for that purpose, shall study all pertinent reports and data submitted to the House by the agencies in the executive branch of the Government.

"The proletariat must gather and organize those lawyers and learned barristers in various countries who sympathize with the liberation struggle and are prepared, together with the legal bureau of the IRA, to assist and give legal help to the victims of the class domination of the bourgeoisie \* \* \*.

"To organize legal bureaus in every country where they do not yet exist and where this is possible, in particular in England, the U. S. A. and Japan \* \* \*.

"To strive to enlarge the number of lawyers who take part in this work by attracting more and more new cadres of lawyers and jurists who can be stimulated by their own interests and their sympathy with the revolution to gather around the IRA legal bureau."

(The above directive was issued by the International Red Aid (IRA) at its Second International Conference (Moscow, 1927). The International Red Aid was established by the Comintern in 1922 for the purpose of providing organizations of lawyers for the legal defense of Communists and Communist causes in all parts of the world.)

# COMMUNIST LEGAL SUBVERSION

## The Role of the Communist Lawyer

### INTRODUCTION

Hearings and investigations conducted by the Committee on Un-American Activities in the course of the last few years have produced a massive array of facts regarding efforts directed at the perversion of our democratic processes of government by the Communist conspiracy in the United States.

On the basis of these facts, the committee issued the report entitled "Communist Political Subversion"<sup>1</sup> on August 16, 1957. The committee described therein the Communist Party's campaign, through the instrumentality of several hundred party-created organizations, to simulate a "grass roots" pressure on Federal and local governments for the purpose of nullifying our Nation's security programs.

A subsequent committee report, published on November 8, 1957, under the title "Operation Abolition," outlined additional organized efforts to undermine the security programs of our Government, to hamper the effectiveness of the Committee on Un-American Activities and to discredit the Federal Bureau of Investigation and its director, J. Edgar Hoover.

The committee is issuing the present report as a result of substantial evidence that the Communists, over the course of the past several decades, have sought and are seeking to pervert our democratic processes not only by their campaign of political subversion but by a parallel operation which may be designated as "legal subversion." This operation involves subversion by Communists trained in the law.

The mechanics of legal subversion extend far beyond any legitimate process of legal representation. They embrace the efforts of a conspiratorial minority, trained in the use of the legal instruments of our society, to turn those instruments into weapons for the destruction of our free society.

While relatively few in number, the principals in this operation enjoy a far disproportionate influence in the American community as a result of a combination of legal training, schooling in Communist subversive techniques and the fact that they have behind them the entire Communist apparatus and are made the subjects of favorable publicity build-ups on the part of the Communist Party, its fronts and fellow travelers in all walks of life.

The locus operandi of the Communist lawyer has ranged from the Communist Party and its myriad front groups and enterprises to the

<sup>1</sup> See Communist Political Subversion, Hearings and Appendix, November and December 1956 (pts. 1 and 2), and H. Rept. No. 1182, August 16, 1957.

most respected institutions of our Republic. The record will show, for example, that Communist lawyers have not only been in the forefront of the party's own organizational apparatus and of particular party projects such as the campaign of political subversion, but that they have also promoted the Communist cause in the courts, the Congress, and executive agencies of our Government.

From the scope and nature of their activities, it is evident that Communist lawyers rank as part of an elite corps within the Communist fifth column on American soil.

The Committee on Un-American Activities has never investigated the legal profession or any other professional group as such. Legislative mandates require, however, that this committee and, in turn, the Congress, be informed of the constantly changing strategy and tactics of the Communist conspiracy in this country as preparation for the enactment of remedial security legislation when the exigencies of the situation demand it.

In keeping with these mandates, the committee has investigated the conspiracy in whatever sphere its agents have been found operating. The committee has discovered as a result of these investigations that the Communist program of subversion in this Nation is so broad in scope that most segments of our society have been its targets. Hearings have disclosed, for example, the operations of Communist agents within our Federal Government, our trade unions, and local community organizations, as well as within numerous professional groupings such as lawyers, doctors, educators, and scientists.

In this report, the committee has extracted from its past investigations and hearings some of the information it has received regarding the aims and activities of Communists admitted to the practice of law. Despite the fact that the information was obtained incidentally in the course of investigations into broader aspects of the Communist conspiracy, the committee believes this evidence is justification for concern by those, both within and without the legal profession, who would preserve our democratic institutions and processes. Therefore, it was decided to publish this report.

How can a lawyer maintain his oath to uphold and defend the Constitution of the United States when he is an agent of a conspiratorial apparatus designed to destroy the Constitution?

How can a lawyer carry out his duty to serve the interests of a client if he is under Communist discipline which subordinates professional loyalties to the interests of the Communist Party?

How can a lawyer meet the high standard of ethics and conduct, historically required of members of the bar, if he exploits the know-how and prestige of his profession in behalf of Communist propaganda, subversion, and espionage?

The committee cites facts which shed light on these and other questions in the following report in the belief that reliable data on a vital problem is the first step toward its eventual solution. It is encouraging to note that many loyal members of the bar have long demonstrated concern about Communist lawyers. The American Bar Association, for example, established a Special Committee on Communist Tactics, Strategy and Objectives in 1950. As a result of its committee's studies, the Association has adopted a number of recommendations directly relating to communism and Communist lawyers.



Among the measures urged by the Association is the disbarment of lawyers who are found to be members of the Communist Party or who invoke the fifth amendment regarding party membership.

The ramifications of legal subversion are such, however, that the problem demands immediate and serious consideration not only by the overwhelming majority of patriotic lawyers in our country but by the Congress and the citizenry at large.

### LAWYERS IDENTIFIED AS COMMUNISTS

Committee investigations and hearings over the years have stripped the cloak of secrecy from Communist conspirators operating in many diverse groupings of American society. Organized Communist activities centered in various cities of the United States, or around key Communist targets such as the Government, labor unions, basic industries, and educational and cultural institutions formed the scope of many committee hearings.

In the course of these hearings, which it has held throughout the country, the committee has repeatedly received evidence that certain members of the conspiratorial Communist operation were masquerading as respected members of the legal profession.

In the decade from 1947 through 1957, for example, more than 100 of the individuals identified as members of the Communist Party by former Communists testifying before this committee have also been identified as members of the bar.

Most of these lawyers have appeared as witnesses before this committee or other congressional committees. Approximately a dozen of them informed this committee that they were no longer part of the conspiracy and presented valuable testimony regarding their past activities as lawyers in the party. However, no less than 67 other lawyers have refused to answer questions of this committee or other congressional committees regarding their membership or activities in the Communist Party, despite the existence of sworn testimony regarding their affiliation with the conspiracy. All but four of these lawyers invoked the protection of the fifth amendment against self-incrimination in refusing to respond to questioning.

These lawyers represent only a fraction of the total number of individuals engaged in the practice of law in the United States. The fact that a relatively small number of Communists have attained status in the legal profession should not be construed as a reflection on the overwhelming majority of the legal profession, in whose loyalty and patriotism the committee has the highest confidence.

On the other hand, the fact that more than 100 Communist lawyers have been identified in sworn public testimony before the committee must not be construed as a complete picture of Communist legal subversion. The committee emphasizes again that its information on the subject was obtained incidentally in the course of its public hearings on broad-scale Communist operations in this country. The factual material upon which this report is based does not include information on Communist lawyers who have not been publicly identified, nor on lawyers who are not actual party members for "security" or other reasons but who nevertheless unswervingly support the Communist Party and its program. Nor does this report attempt to exhaust in-

formation on the subject which may be available as a result of hearings by other committees of the United States Congress, various State investigating committees, and governmental agencies such as the Subversive Activities Control Board, or information obtained as a result of testimony in the numerous Smith Act trials.

The fact that identified Communist lawyers are very much in a minority does not alter the seriousness of the situation whereby agents of the Communist Party, by gaining entry into the legal profession, are in a unique position to serve as instruments for those who would pervert the very democratic processes a lawyer is sworn to defend.

Under the mantle of the legal profession, the Communist can operate as an ostensibly respectable and influential member of the community despite his dedication and subservience to Communist doctrines and directives.

The frequency of their appearances before our most important and highly respected democratic institutions is evidence of the prominence attained by Communists who have been admitted to the bar. They appear not only before congressional committees but, because of their highly respected profession, are given free access to executive agencies, such as the Immigration and Naturalization Service, and to the State and Federal courts, including our highest tribunal—the United States Supreme Court.

In the past decade alone, identified Communist lawyers appeared in person before the United States Supreme Court or were on the principal brief in at least 32 important cases adjudicated by the Court on some vital issue affecting the operations of the Communist Party itself.

This report must not be construed as a reflection on the right and privilege of legal representation for Communists. The cherished American concept of the right to counsel must never be denied even to Communist conspirators who would render such concepts meaningless if their efforts to subvert our Government were to succeed.<sup>2</sup>

### A COMMUNIST'S LOYALTY VERSUS THE LAWYER'S OATH

A Communist owes his primary loyalty to an international revolutionary conspiracy, masterminded in Moscow toward the goal of complete enslavement of the earth's people. By subordinating himself to this conspiracy, a lawyer becomes part and parcel of an operation designed to abolish our constitutional form of government and its

<sup>2</sup> The Rules of Procedure of the Committee on Un-American Activities, a printed copy of which is furnished to all witnesses, require that "At every hearing, public or executive, every witness shall be accorded the privilege of having counsel of his own choosing." Witnesses who appear at committee hearings without legal representation are asked if they have deliberately chosen to testify without benefit of counsel.

When such witnesses indicate they desire counsel but are unable to obtain it, the committee postpones interrogation of the individual and contacts local bar associations or legal aid societies in order to insure that the witness has the benefit of legal advice.

As examples, the committee cites the appearances of Stanley William Henrickson before the committee in Seattle, Wash., June 16, 1954, and the appearance of William Matthews in Atlanta, Ga., in July 1958. Mr. Henrickson, an identified member of the Communist underground organization in Washington State, invoked the fifth amendment as a witness before the committee. He was accompanied by Michael K. Copass, president of the Seattle Bar Association, who represented Mr. Henrickson without compensation after the committee had solicited the bar association for legal assistance for Mr. Henrickson. In connection with the appearance of William Matthews before the committee in Atlanta, Ga., in July 1958, the committee solicited and obtained legal assistance for the witness from the local Legal Aid Society.

guaranties of equal justice under the law in favor of a slave-state existence.

A Communist operates under an iron discipline which places his party's subversive purposes above even professional and personal loyalties. No Communist, therefore, can in good faith take the oath, administered to all members of the bar, to uphold and defend the Constitution of the United States. No Communist can qualify for the trust imposed upon a lawyer "to devote his ability, skill, and diligence along ethical and professional lines to the interests of his client, and to refrain from entering into any alliance or incurring any obligation connected with the litigation in which he is engaged as counsel that would place him in a position where his personal interests would be adverse to those of his client."<sup>3</sup>

A member of the bar is considered an officer of the court. In a sense, he is also an officer of the State, with an obligation to the public. He plays a role that is indispensable to the very system of the administration of justice, and as a result has a solemn duty to assist the court in keeping legal proceedings dignified, orderly, impersonal, and free from issues aside from the merits of a case. With their loyalties elsewhere, Communists cannot be counted upon to carry out such important responsibilities.

The anomaly of a Communist lawyer is further pointed up by the fact that the prerequisites for admission to the bar include not only adequate training in the techniques of the law but also good moral character. A member of a conspiracy, dedicated to a course of deceit, subversion, and even violence, obtains and holds membership in the legal profession in gross violation of the bar's character requirements.

That a Communist lawyer's first allegiance is to the party itself was demonstrated by the testimony of a group of Los Angeles lawyers who had quit the party in disillusionment in the late 1940's, and later described their party experiences to this committee.<sup>4</sup>

Most of these lawyers had been recruited into the Communist Party after other lawyers already in it had induced them to attend informal "legal" discussion groups where they were gradually exposed to Marxist views. When they actually joined the party the new recruits were placed in a special lawyers' group whose membership was kept secret. There they received intensive indoctrination aimed at guiding their thinking along accepted Communist Party lines. Communist lawyers, the witnesses declared, were not allowed to disagree with party theory and policies. Those who differ "either change their minds and think right, or else they get out," according to David Aaron, a lawyer and former Communist who, since breaking with the party, has rendered outstanding service by revealing the machinations of Communist lawyers.

Mr. Aaron stated that the lawyers who were "Communists in the true sense of the word" were those who "feel that the most important thing is the aims of the party." A. Marburg Yerkes, another lawyer who broke with the party, related that he found his concern for high ideals was being submerged by concern for the Communist Party as such. Still another former member of the Los Angeles Communist

<sup>3</sup> 7 Corpus Juris Secundum 708.

<sup>4</sup> Testimony of David Aaron and Albert M. Herzig, January 23, 1952; A. Marburg Yerkes, January 24, 1952; and William G. Israel, January 25, 1952.

lawyers' group, William G. Israel, testified that he quit the party group because "in 1947 it became perfectly obvious that to remain a member of the Communist Party was to be an absolutely disloyal American."

## COMMUNIST ABUSE OF THE COURTS

The Communist Party attitude toward our courts was frankly stated in a pamphlet instructing the party faithful on the behavior they were to adopt in the event of arrest and trial. The pamphlet bluntly required them to "bring the class struggle into the courtroom." The "dignity" and "sanctity" of the courts, according to this pamphlet, are merely "a means of paralyzing the struggling of the workers against capitalist institutions."

These instructions further declare:

The class struggle goes on in the courtroom as well as it does on the picket line, in the shops, and in the mines. The worker must learn to carry into the courtroom the same determined militancy that brought him there.

The worker must also understand that courts are not impartial, any more than any other agency of capitalist government is impartial. Those who drag the worker into court do so because they know that the court will serve the bosses and not the worker.

To summarize the point: the workers must see through the sham and ceremony, and recognize the capitalist court as a class enemy—as a weapon in the bosses' hands, with which to suppress workers' militancy. The worker must train himself to bring the class struggle into the courtroom into which he was dragged by the bosses' servants.<sup>5</sup>

Another Communist pamphlet told party members that they must use trials of Communists as a means of attacking capitalism and promoting the revolution:

A Communist must utilize a political trial to help on the revolutionary struggle. Our tactics in the public proceedings of the law courts are not tactics of defense but of attack. Without clinging to legal formalities, the Communist must use the trial as a means of bringing his indictments against the dominant capitalist regime and of courageously voicing the views of his party.<sup>6</sup>

The application of these Communist principles to an American court trial was observed as far back as 1929 in the notorious Gastonia case.

In this case, seven defendants were convicted of second-degree murder as a result of the death of a Gastonia, N. C., police chief during a violent Communist-directed strike of textile workers in the area. The conviction marked the conclusion of two trials held in Charlotte, N. C., between August 26 and October 21, 1929, in a blaze of nationwide publicity capitalized on by the Communist Party.

Many years later, Fred E. Beal, one of the defendants who was also a Communist, and Liston Oak, a Communist functionary on the scene, appeared as witnesses before this committee. Both men had left the

<sup>5</sup> Under Arrest! Workers' Self-defense in the Courts, International Labor Defense, pp. 6 and 7.

<sup>6</sup> Johannes Buchner, *The Agent Provocateur in the Labour Movement*, New York: Workers Library Publishers, early 1930's pp. 51 and 52.

Communist Party in disillusionment. They revealed to the committee that the Communist Party had gone all-out in an effort to induce defense counsel to follow a "class struggle" line in the Gastonia trials and to utilize the courtroom for Communist propaganda purposes.

Among those sent by the party to the area to accomplish this objective was Leon Josephson, a Communist lawyer from New Jersey, who operated as the party's legal representative. Although Josephson did not take part in the actual trial proceedings, he attempted to influence the defense counsel and, in interviews with the imprisoned defendants, sought to instruct them on their testimony in the event they should be called to the witness stand.

Mr. Beal stated that the Communist Party was more interested in creating a propaganda forum and making a show for Moscow than in obtaining the defendants' acquittal. The party succeeded in getting one of its representatives from New York on the witness stand. This party agent thereupon introduced into the trial Communist propaganda speeches having no relation to the defense of the case and actually prejudicial to the defendants. Such tactics, accompanied by Communist agitation in the community, hampered the case for the defense to such an extent that Mr. Beal in retrospect was convinced the Communist Party was chiefly responsible for the defendants' conviction.

A former judge who was chief counsel for the defense resigned from the case as a result of such Communist efforts to make a mockery of the trial. A non-Communist lawyer from Charlotte, N. C., who eventually replaced him, subsequently confirmed Mr. Beal's version of the case in a communication to the committee. This lawyer told the committee:

All of the bigwigs of the American branch of the Communist Party were on hand for the trials. They did everything they could to interfere with the proper defense of the accused, and tried constantly to embarrass the court.

When the solicitor for the State, in the second trial of the case, announced that he would not ask for conviction on the capital charge, but would reduce the charge to murder in the second degree the Communist leaders insisted that I protest the reduction and that I "demand" that the defendants be tried for their lives. They made no secret of the fact that they would like to see them sentenced to death, for that, the leaders said, would give them "more mass space," and enable them to push their cause with more effectiveness. During the trial of the case they tried to tamper with State witnesses, tried to get our own witnesses to swear to all sorts of lies, and constantly tried to dictate to defense lawyers. By the time the case had ended the Communists hated me about as much as they did the attorneys for the prosecution, and largely because the prisoners were not sentenced to the electric chair. The whole ugly affair seems almost like a nightmare.

The behavior of defense counsel in the Smith Act trial of the 11 top Communist Party officials in New York in 1949 was in complete accord with the Communist Party courtroom strategy outlined above.

Throughout the 7-month trial of the Communist leaders charged with conspiracy to advocate forceful overthrow of the United States Government, a group of defense lawyers indulged in a spectacular

display of abusive and disruptive conduct. These lawyers, it became apparent, were determined to break up the legal proceedings by any means and to introduce Communist propaganda at every opening as long as the trial should continue.<sup>7</sup> In pursuing these tactics, counsel were observed to pass up actual opportunities to benefit their clients' case. Presiding Judge Harold Medina declared at one point in the trial that "The amount of disorder and contemptuous behavior I have witnessed here is beyond anything I could have thought possible in an American court."

At the conclusion of the trial, Judge Medina meted out jail sentences for criminal contempt of court to six defense counsel. He charged them with "a deliberate and willful attack upon the administration of justice, an attempt to sabotage the functioning of the Federal judicial system and misconduct of so grave a character as to make the mere imposition of a fine a futile gesture and a wholly insufficient punishment."<sup>8</sup>

Judge Jerome Frank, in a concurring opinion in the United States Court of Appeals, Second Circuit, decision which upheld the contempt sentences against the defense counsel, said:

\* \* \* We affirm the orders punishing these lawyers \* \* \* because of the lawyers' outrageous conduct—conduct of a kind which no lawyer owes his client, which cannot ever be justified, and which was never employed by those advocates, for minorities or for the unpopular, whose courage has made lawyerdom proud. The acts of the lawyers for the defendants in this trial can make no sensible man proud.

What they did was like assaulting the pilot of an aeroplane in flight or turning out the lights during a surgical operation. To use homelier words, they tried to throw a wrench in the machinery of justice. Whatever may have been their purpose, their acts might have made a trial of their clients impossible.<sup>9</sup>

Among those sentenced for contemptuous conduct was Eugene Dennis, general secretary of the Communist Party, U. S. A., who was a defendant in the trial. Although not a lawyer, Dennis had served as his own counsel. Three of the remaining defense counsel sentenced by Judge Medina—Harry Sacher, Richard Gladstein, and Abraham J. Isserman—are active practitioners of the law who have been identified by witnesses before this committee as members of the Communist Party.

At the time of this contemptuous behavior by defense counsel in the New York Smith Act trial, A. Marburg Yerkes was still a member of a Communist Party lawyers' group in Los Angeles. Mr. Yerkes subsequently told this committee that he was profoundly disturbed by the conduct of the lawyers in the New York trial and that he tried to raise

<sup>7</sup> Hawthorne Daniel, "Judge Medina, A Biography," New York: Wilfred Funk, Inc., 1952, pp. 230, 231, 265, 288, and 289.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> 182 F. 2d 416.



questions about it with other Communist lawyers in his group. Mr. Yerkes received no answer and shortly thereafter left the Communist Party in disgust with its policies and methods.

The American Bar Association's Special Committee on Communist Tactics, Strategy and Objectives expressed concern that conduct such as that engaged in by defense counsel in the aforementioned Smith Act trial "might well bring down the wrath of the American people upon the legal profession, and if permitted to continue would tend to make the Bar generally the object of scorn, derision and contempt of the American citizen."<sup>10</sup>

The Attorney General of the United States warned in 1953 that the inculcation of Americans with a contemptuous attitude toward our judicial process is exactly what the Communist Party seeks to achieve:

High on their [the Communists'] list of objectives is a program designed to instill in our citizens contempt for our judicial process. They know that our court system, which is fair and impartial, is one of the strongest bulwarks of democracy. Consequently, as we expose their members for what they are, and try them for their crimes, they have used every device available in an attempt to turn our judicial process into a "three-ring circus" in order to bring it into disrepute.

Unfortunately, they have been partially successful in this program. \* \* \*<sup>11</sup>

## BEHAVIOR BEFORE CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES

The Communist Party's position regarding congressional committees investigating subversion is well documented. The party has continuously propagandized against the very existence of such committees. It has also instructed its members who are subpoenaed to appear as witnesses before these committees to refuse to furnish any information on Communist activities. Former Communists have testified that, in order to insure complete resistance to congressional committees, Communist lawyers are often assigned to Communists who have been subpoenaed.<sup>12</sup>

In appearances before this committee as counsel to uncooperative witnesses, many identified Communist lawyers have furthermore violated the ethical standards of the bar by a display of contemptuous and abusive behavior. The committee on occasion has had to have such counsel escorted from its presence in order to enable a hearing to proceed.

<sup>10</sup> Report of the Special Committee on Communist Tactics, Strategy and Objectives, American Bar Association, February 27, 1951.

<sup>11</sup> Speech of Attorney General Herbert Brownell, Jr., delivered before the National Conference on Citizenship, Washington, D. C., September 19, 1953.

<sup>12</sup> See testimony before House Committee on Un-American Activities by Matthew Cvetie, February 22, 1950, and William A. Wallace, May 23, 1956.

Witnesses, represented by identified Communist lawyers, have also frequently engaged in disorderly and disruptive tactics, apparently with the knowledge and approval of their counsel. That much of this behavior was part of a prearranged Communist Party strategy has been revealed in the testimony of former Communists.

Mrs. Anita Schneider,<sup>13</sup> a former FBI undercover agent within the Communist Party, described how Communist lawyers provided witnesses under subpoena with abusive speeches to memorize and use when they appeared as witnesses:

Mr. ARENS. In their appearance before various congressional committees, are the comrades given a little briefing before they appear as to what they are to say?

Mrs. SCHNEIDER. They certainly are.

Mr. ARENS. Can you give us any firsthand observations on that?

Mrs. SCHNEIDER. Yes, I can. On one occasion while I was still in the Communist Party—in April 1954, I believe—the House Committee on Un-American Activities had hearings in San Diego. Many of our local Communist Party people had been subpoenaed to appear.\*\*\*

I was shown a long sheet of nasty remarks that David and Miriam Starcevic were given with orders to memorize them before they went on the witness stand so that no matter what they were asked they had a nasty answer to give. And if you will consult the transcript, you will see that the nasty answers didn't at all fit the questions. But, no matter what they were asked, they had an answer to give, a nasty one.<sup>14</sup>

Mr. DOYLE. By whom were you shown that list of nasty answers?

Mrs. SCHNEIDER. By David Starcevic \* \* \* who is a member of the Communist Party in San Diego. \* \* \*

Mr. SCHERER. Do you know of any cases other than the one you related about the list given to the Starcevic where attorneys have told witnesses who were to be called before this committee what to say? Any specific examples?

Mrs. SCHNEIDER. In each case when the Un-American Activities Committee was going to have hearings the Communist Party attorneys would coach the witnesses very carefully beforehand—exactly what to say and what not to say.

<sup>13</sup> Hearings on Communist Political Subversion, House Committee on Un-American Activities, December 7, 1956, Los Angeles, Calif., pp. 6727, 6728, and 6734.

<sup>14</sup> David and Miriam Starcevic, accompanied by identified Communist attorney, Ben Margolis, appeared as witnesses before the Committee on Un-American Activities on April 21, 1954. They conducted themselves in such an obstreperous manner that the committee decided to forego extensive questioning.



Mr. SCHERER. To the extent of baiting the committee?

Mrs. SCHNEIDER. Certainly. That was the main emphasis on their testimony. They were carefully coached on exactly how to make the committee the angriest.

Mr. SCHERER. We have had testimony in other cities from individuals like yourself that that has been the universal practice by Communist lawyers, to coach witnesses how to bait the committee, although under the rules of the committee and as attorneys, they are not supposed to tell witnesses what to say. They are merely supposed to advise them as to their legal and constitutional rights with reference to answering questions that might be asked.

It has been repeatedly demonstrated that Communist publications in the United States serve as organs for the transmission of directives to party members. It is therefore pertinent to observe that the Communist press has consistently given prominence to the abusive behavior of identified Communists appearing as witnesses before congressional committees.

For example, the Daily People's World, West Coast Communist newspaper which functions as a transmission belt for directives to party members in that area, played up the appearance before the committee on April 21, 1954, of the Starcevics and similarly uncooperative witnesses under the headline "Seven San Diegans Flay Un-Americans War Aims." The Starcevics and other identified Communists who refused to answer committee questions were hailed in the Communist newspaper for their "fighting, challenging statements" to the committee. The party publication quoted generously from these "statements" which, it stated, the chairman of the committee would not permit the witnesses to read during the course of their testimony. What the Communist newspaper failed to mention was that the statements were so abusive and so irrelevant to the investigation that committee rules prevented their introduction into the record.

Among the "statements" quoted by the Daily People's World was one prepared for delivery by La Verne Lym, former San Diegan and identified Communist, which charged that the committee's hearings on Communist activities in the San Diego area were actually timed to coincide with a Government effort to "silence the cry for peace in the world" and to stop resistance to the involvement of our country in "military adventures."

Another tirade quoted in the Communist newspaper came from Phillip Usquiano, an identified Communist of San Diego, and contained such remarks as:

This committee is creating hysteria in San Diego by bringing in here those who have sold their birthright for 30 pieces of silver, by recalling the dead from their graves.

I accuse this committee of undermining the Constitution of the United States and I refuse to cooperate with it.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Daily People's World, April 23, 1954, p. 6.



# 9 Los Angeles Lawyers Defy Un-Americans at Hearing

LOS ANGELES, Oct. 2.—The House Un-Americans, greeted by mass picketing on the occasion of this city Tuesday, were rebuffed with equal sharpness yesterday by nine lawyers to answer unclear questions. These were the first of 20 attorneys subpoenaed.

**WE Defends  
Veray Lock**

first full day of hearings in the committee's scheduled 10-day session.

## Los Angeles Attorney Defies Un-Americans

LOS ANGELES, Oct. 2.—Ben Margolis, attorney who defended the 11 California victims of the Smith Act trials, yesterday defied the House Un-Americans at their witch hunt hearing here. He was "one of your campaign supporters" and "a man of your attitude." To which Margolis replied, "I feel nothing but contempt for this committee."

In an appearance before this committee in Washington, D. C., on June 12, 1956, Paul Robeson bombarded its members with contemptuous speeches which contrasted strangely with his adamant refusal to answer any committee questions regarding his Communist Party activities. The Communist Daily Worker thereafter gave Robeson front-page publicity for what it called his protest against this committee's "attempt to shut up every Negro who wants to talk for his people." As the Daily Worker reported it:

During the tumultuous hour that the hearing lasted, Robeson condemned the witchhunting by the committee, contrasted President Eisenhower's moves for peace with the committee's activities and declared emphatically his intention of continuing to fight for equal rights for Negro people.

Although the committee chairman and other members repeatedly tried to restrict him to the rigged question routine, Robeson's voice, sometimes angry, sometimes somber, sometimes chuckling, overwhelmed their heckling \* \* \*.<sup>10</sup>

Robeson's actions and expressions in behalf of international communism are always extolled by the Communist press as representing the true position of all American Negroes. At the World Peace Conference held in Paris in April of 1949, Robeson again presumed to speak for all Negroes. Thomas W. Young, a prominent Negro

<sup>10</sup> Daily Worker, June 13, 1956, pp. 1 and 8.

leader of Norfolk, Virginia, and general manager of the Guide Publishing Company, Inc., had the following to say about Robeson's statement in Paris:

What basis, if any, is there for believing Paul Robeson when he says that in the event of a war with Russia the Negro would not fight for his country against the Soviets? \* \* \*

Two things can be pointed out to discredit that statement. In the first place, Mr. Robeson is now so far out of touch with the Negro's thinking and his everyday emotions that he can no longer speak authoritatively about or for the race. His distant travels and his latterday preoccupations with the affairs of the Soviets have broken the bond he once held with the Negro mind. He has so completely removed himself from the intimate affairs of the Negro group in America that he no longer has the opportunity to know nor the authority to speak about the aims and aspirations and resolutions of this group.

The plain truth about the matter is that in his Paris declaration Mr. Robeson has done a great disservice to his race—far greater than that done to his country. And if Mr. Robeson does not recognize the injury he has done to the cause of the Negro in this country, then that underscores his disqualification as a representative of the race. And if he does not recognize the injury he has done, he must also be cognizant of the extent of his betrayal of his race in the interest of the new cause to which he now devotes himself. \* \* \* 17

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<sup>17</sup> Hearings before Committee on Un-American Activities Regarding Communist Infiltration of Minority Groups—Pt. 1, pp. 453 and 454, testimony of Thomas W. Young, July 13, 1949.

## NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD

An important focal point in the Communist campaign of legal subversion is the National Lawyers Guild, which has been operating on the American scene for more than 20 years as an alleged nationwide organization for "liberal" lawyers concerned with human rights in general and civil liberties in particular.

This committee, in a special 50-page report on the guild in 1950, found the organization was in fact an "appendage to the Communist Party." Its proclaimed "benevolent" purposes were designed to lure non-Communist lawyers into the organization, where they would become subject to Communist influence and would wittingly or unwittingly serve Communist objectives. In its day-to-day operations, the guild served as a "legal" bulwark of the Communist Party, intervening in legal proceedings in behalf of Communist defendants and lobbying against executive and legislative programs which would curb the effectiveness of the Communist conspiracy in this country.<sup>18</sup>

The first executive secretary of the guild, Mortimer Riemer, who was also a member of the Communist Party at the time, has described in sworn testimony before this committee how he and other Communist lawyers worked to organize the guild in 1936. Not only were the organizational details arranged by Communist lawyers, but the first national convention of the guild in 1937 elected a slate of officers and followed a program prearranged in secret caucuses of Communist lawyers.<sup>19</sup>

Other lawyers who were formerly active in both the Communist Party and the National Lawyers Guild have informed the committee that it was a Communist Party requirement that Communist lawyers become members of the guild because, as one witness said, "The guild was supposed to be made into the legal organ, the legal instrument which would speak for and in behalf of the Communist Party."<sup>20</sup>

In the course of its present study of the problem of legal subversion, the committee found that most of the lawyers who have been identified before it as members of the Communist Party, and whose activities are discussed in more detail later in this report, have played prominent roles in the National Lawyers Guild. These lawyers have held key offices in the national guild organization such as those of executive secretary and members of the executive board and have functioned as president, executive secretary, treasurer, or board members in local chapters of the guild in such major cities as New York, Washington, D. C., Los Angeles, and San Francisco.

A number of lawyers have been identified as having been members of the Communist Party as far back as their law-school days, when they were also active in "student" chapters of the National Lawyers Guild. For example, lawyer Mortin Leitson served as president of the guild's student chapter at the University of Michigan while also active in a secret Communist Party organization on the campus.

<sup>18</sup> See report on the National Lawyers Guild, Committee on Un-American Activities, H. R. 3123, September 21, 1950.

<sup>19</sup> See testimony of Mortimer Riemer before this committee on December 14, 1955.

<sup>20</sup> See testimony of David Aaron before this committee, January 23, 1952, p. 2522.

The National Lawyers Guild held a banquet in New York City on October 25, 1957, at which it paid tribute to 125 lawyers who were members of the guild. The guild's "guest of honor" roll for this affair included 36 attorneys who have been publicly identified as Communist Party members in testimony before the committee.

Activities of the guild in recent years continue to be directed toward the weakening of the security programs of Federal and local governments. The guild, for example, has been campaigning for:

1. Abolition of congressional committees assigned to the task of coping with subversion in the United States;

2. Curbing of the investigative powers of the Federal Bureau of Investigation;

3. Emasculation of the recent statute which grants immunity to any witness called before a committee or a Federal grand jury if the witness furnishes information regarding subversive activities;

4. Repeal of the Smith Act prohibiting teaching or advocacy of forceful overthrow of the United States Government;

5. Discontinuance of the Attorney General's listings of subversive organizations;

6. Repeal of the Internal Security Act and the Walter-McCarran Immigration Act;

7. Unrestricted issuance of passports to subversive individuals;

8. Repeal of the Federal employees loyalty-security program;

9. Limitations on the right of the Defense Department to discharge subversives from the Armed Forces.

## SERVICES TO THE COMMUNIST PARTY BY IDENTIFIED COMMUNIST LAWYERS

When David Aaron, a former member of a Communist Party lawyers' group in Los Angeles, appeared as a witness before this committee, he was asked what part Communist Party lawyers were expected to play in the promotion of the plans and purposes of the Communist Party. Mr. Aaron replied that " \* \* \* the function of the lawyer was to not actively go out on the street and promote, but to act in an advisory capacity, to give aid and counsel to the people who are active in it [the party]."

In an effort to obtain a picture of some of the special services which can be performed for the Communist Party by members operating from the vantage point of the legal profession, the committee has reviewed the public record of a number of lawyers who have been identified as party members in sworn testimony. This record, which represents only publicly available information contained in the files of the committee, shows that such lawyers have:

1. Capitalized on their membership in the legal profession to recruit fellow lawyers into the Communist Party.

2. Misapplied their legal training by assisting Communist operatives in circumventing the law in order to carry out party objectives.

3. Served in secret Communist cells aimed at espionage and influencing United States policy toward Communist objectives, while holding responsible legal positions in the United States Government.

4. Carried out important duties as a functionary of the Communist Party organization itself.



5. Served as attorneys for both Communist-dominated trade unions and those not under Communist control.

6. Acted as legal advisers to, and accepted leadership roles in, organizations which posed as legitimate non-Communist enterprises although they were, in fact, operated under Communist control for party purposes—for example, the party front organizations built around “civil rights” and other popular themes.

7. Exploited the prestige of their profession in the course of running for public office.

The Communist Party has reaped inestimable benefits as a result of these extralegal activities of identified Communist lawyers. While the activities involve the promotion of Communist objectives in fields far removed from the atmosphere of courts or administrative and congressional hearing rooms, nevertheless, a basic element in all of them is a deliberate Communist exploitation of the lawyer's special status as a member of the bar.

Specific illustrations of each of these activities, selected from numerous examples available in the public records of identified Communist lawyers, follow:

#### RECRUITMENT OF FELLOW LAWYERS INTO THE COMMUNIST PARTY

One of the extralegal activities in which Communist lawyers engage is the recruitment of fellow lawyers into the Communist Party.

Attorney A. Marburg Yerkes testified before this committee that he had accepted the invitation of Ben Margolis<sup>21</sup> to join the latter's Los Angeles law firm because he was impressed with Mr. Margolis' reputation in a certain prominently publicized legal case. Shortly after joining the firm, Mr. Yerkes was invited by his employer to attend an informal “legal” discussion at a lawyer's home. Because Mr. Margolis “expected” it of him, Mr. Yerkes became a regular attendant at such sessions, which he found were actually Marxist discussions aimed at the gradual indoctrination of non-Communist lawyers with Communist views. The sessions led Mr. Yerkes and other lawyers into formal membership in the Communist Party, where Mr. Yerkes discovered Mr. Margolis in a leadership role.

#### CIRCUMVENTING THE LAW

This committee's hearings have also revealed instances in which identified Communist lawyers have misapplied their legal training by helping Communist agents evade our laws.

In the course of the committee's investigation into the operations of the international Communist agent, Gerhart Eisler, evidence was obtained that Leon Josephson, an openly admitted Communist and a member of the bar in New Jersey since 1921, had in 1934 prepared a false passport application for Eisler's travels in the service of the Communist conspiracy. A passport was subsequently issued to Eisler, a German citizen, through the use of the naturalization papers of a third Communist Party member, because Eisler, an alien, was technically unable to obtain a passport. When Josephson was called as

<sup>21</sup> For further details of the activities of Ben Margolis and many of the other attorneys subsequently referred to, see separate sections devoted to each attorney on pages 26 through 75 of this report.



a witness in Eisler's trial for contempt of Congress in 1947, he not only confessed on the witness stand that he had sworn falsely on Eisler's passport application but also boasted that he would "do so again." The statute of limitations prevented any prosecution of Josephson at that date.

A more recent example was provided in the testimony of Anita Schneider, who joined the Communist Party in California in 1951 as an undercover agent for the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Mrs. Schneider said the Communist Party considered sending her as a delegate to an international Communist-sponsored "peace" conference in Stockholm, Sweden, from which it was also planned she would journey on to the Soviet Union. Mrs. Schneider said she had a discussion with a Communist lawyer of Los Angeles, Richard Rykoff, on the problem of applying for a passport in view of State Department restrictions on travel behind the Iron Curtain. Attorney Rykoff advised Mrs. Schneider to conceal her real destination from the State Department in filling out a passport application, even though he knew that, in filling out the application, she would have to swear to the truthfulness of the information contained in it.

#### ESPIONAGE AND SUBVERSION IN GOVERNMENT

This committee's investigations and hearings over the years have disclosed that a sizable group of individuals who obtained positions of trust within the United States Government due to their legal training joined underground Communist cells aimed at subversion in the Government.

New York lawyers John J. Abt and Nathan Witt, for example, held legal posts with the Agriculture Department and the National Labor Relations Board, respectively, while serving as leaders of secret Communist cells composed of Government employees. Testimony has disclosed that such cells were formed as part of the Communist Party's strategy to get its members into high policymaking posts in our Government and to open up channels through which the Soviet Union could obtain classified Government information.

A notorious illustration of subversion in Government by an identified Communist lawyer was provided by the case of Alger Hiss. Hiss' 15 years of Federal employment encompassed all three branches of the Government—judicial, legislative, and executive. After serving as a law clerk for a justice of the United States Supreme Court, Hiss held such posts as counsel in the Agriculture and Justice Departments and as chief counsel with a special Senate committee. Upon entering the State Department, where he attained his highest policymaking position, Hiss' first assignment was assistant to an Assistant Secretary of State. He, himself, described his job as involving years of "legal and other research."

#### LAWYERS AS COMMUNIST PARTY OFFICIALS

Among the members of the bar who have at the same time held important functionary posts within the Communist Party organization are San Francisco lawyer Aubrey Grossman and New York lawyer Abraham Unger.

Aubrey Grossman in 1945 was publicly advertised by the Communist Party as its new educational director for the city and county of San Francisco. In that year, he was also an alternate delegate to the important Communist Party national convention in New York City, at which party leader Earl Browder was deposed and the temporary name of the Communist Political Association was abandoned in response to dictates from Moscow.

Abraham Unger not only served as official legal representative for the Communist Party but also held the status of a "functionary" within the party organization, according to a former Communist associate who left the party in 1950. Mr. Unger had been a member of the constitution committee at the aforementioned 1945 convention of the Communist Party.

In 1956, at the height of the internal controversy within the United States Communist Party which resulted from Soviet disclosures of Stalin's crimes, Abraham Unger discoursed authoritatively on internal party problems in the party's official newspaper, the *Daily Worker*. His pronouncements included severe condemnation of those Communists in the United States or abroad who were tempted to rebel against complete subservience to the Soviet Union.

#### ACTIVITIES IN UNIONS

The Communist Party since the late 1920's has made concerted efforts to infiltrate the organized labor movement in this country. Chief targets of the party have been unions operating in basic industries—the maritime, shipping, communications, radio and electrical fields. The party actually controlled a number of the Nation's most important labor unions. Identified Communist lawyers have contributed to this party objective.

Sworn testimony has revealed that, while identified Communist Richard Gladstein of San Francisco served as official attorney for the Marine Cooks & Stewards Association of the Pacific in the 1940's, he vigorously promoted Communist control over that union. Lawyer Gladstein's efforts, under instructions from the Communist Party, included drafting a constitution, subsequently adopted by the union, which would give the party free access to the union's finances. The union was expelled from the CIO in 1950 for its adherence to the Communist Party line.

Another example is provided by lawyer Nathan Witt, who has admittedly held the official post of "attorney or the general counsel" for the Communist-controlled International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers since early 1941, with the exception of a short period during World War II. According to the testimony of a former Communist Party official who also headed the die-casting division of the mine-mill union, Nathan Witt was one of the Communist Party's top men who acted as liaison between the party and a number of unions controlled by the party. Witt attended key party meetings where important decisions affecting the mine-mill union were made. These decisions, as party directives, were then put into effect by the union after being transmitted to its leaders by Witt, the same testimony revealed. The party's interest in maintaining control of the mine-mill union stemmed from the union's strategic position in the non-ferrous metals industry. This union was also expelled from the CIO in 1950.

In 1941 Nathan Witt was also counsel for the United Federal Workers of America. A 1944 report of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities found Communist leadership to be strongly entrenched in this union which "was formed as a result of a Communist-led split from the American Federation of Government Employees in 1937." It said the union had "fought tenaciously against all efforts to investigate and penalize civil-service employees for subversive activities."

In the late 1940's Witt was chief counsel for the New York Teachers Union, Local 555. This union was originally known as Local 5 of the American Federation of Teachers, AFL, but was expelled from the AFL in 1941 on charges of being Communist-dominated. The New York Teachers Union later became Local 555 of the United Public Workers of America, CIO, which the CIO in turn expelled in 1950 for adhering to the Communist Party line.

Harriet Bouslog (Sawyer), another identified Communist lawyer, has been legal representative for the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union since at least 1943. She served as its legal representative in Washington, D. C., from 1943 until the middle of 1946. In that year Mrs. Bouslog became the legal representative in the Territory of Hawaii for this international union, which was later expelled from the CIO for adhering to the Communist Party line.

Frank Donner has been identified as having been a Communist Party member as far back as the early 1940's when he was a lawyer for the National Labor Relations Board. Donner, who invoked the fifth amendment when he appeared as a witness before this committee in 1956, was recently named general counsel for the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America. This Communist-controlled union, which was ousted by the CIO in 1950, is the recognized bargaining agent for many thousands of workers in many of our vital defense industries. The UE in a recent pamphlet described its new counsel as being "recognized as one of the foremost authorities on NLRB law." It failed to mention that Donner was publicly identified as having been a member of a conspiratorial Communist cell while employed as an attorney at the National Labor Relations Board.

In addition, prior to their identification as Communists, certain lawyers succeeded in obtaining positions as counsel for unions not under the control of the Communist Party.

From 1938 to 1948, when he took a leave of absence to work for the Progressive Party, John Abt served as general counsel to the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, CIO. At the same time he left the Clothing Workers he also resigned as co-counsel to the CIO Political Action Committee.

Frank Donner was assistant general counsel for both the National CIO and the United Steelworkers of America, CIO, from 1943 to 1947.

Harry Sacher is an outstanding example of an identified Communist lawyer who represented both Communist-dominated unions and unions which were not under Communist control, and made a handsome living by doing so. It is estimated that at one time he earned over \$50,000 per year from his legal work in the labor-union field.

Sacher was attorney for the AFL Painters Council District 9 in New York City while Louis Weinstock, a member of the Communist

Party Politburo—and later a defendant in the first Smith Act trial—held the office of secretary-treasurer, the highest post in the Council. In the July 1947 Council election an anti-Communist slate headed by Martin Rarback defeated Weinstock and the other Communists who had controlled the Council for years. Sacher was then dropped as attorney for the Council.

One union in which the Special Committee on Un-American Activities in 1944 found Communist leadership to be “strongly entrenched” was the Transport Workers Union of America. The Committee on Un-American Activities noted in 1950 that this union had “tried to clean out the Communists.” Harry Sacher was general counsel for this union and for its large and powerful Local 100 in New York City throughout most of the 1940’s.

Michael Quill, president of the Transport Workers, in 1948 denounced Sacher as a “conniving member of the Communist Party,” and succeeded in having him ousted, first by Local 100 and later in the year by the international union, in what he (Quill) referred to as a “purge” of the left-wing elements which would permit the union “to operate as a natural trade union.”

During the same year Sacher was dropped as counsel for Local 802 of the AFL Musicians Union.

In the following year, 1949, Sacher lost his post as attorney for the United Shoe Workers of America. He managed, however, to retain his position as attorney for the union’s Joint Council 13 in New York City which was headed by Isidore Rosenberg. Two years later, in 1951, Rosenberg issued a statement saying, “I have abandoned my association with Communist activities because I found that association entirely inconsistent with my work for my union.” Sacher was then dropped as attorney for Joint Council 13.

In January 1951, the membership of Local 306 of the Motion Picture Machine Operators Union, AFL, held a meeting at which literature was passed out to the local members urging them to vote for the discharge of Sacher because of his “many Communist affiliations,” and in June of that year it was officially announced that he had “resigned” as the local’s attorney.

The following exhibit, reproduced from *The Worker*, January 21, 1951, demonstrates the acclaim Harry Sacher received from workers he represented even after he had been convicted of criminal contempt of court:

## Harry Sacher Sticks to the Fight for Labor

By Mel Fiske

Harry Sacher, the workers' lawyer whom the court judges and New York Bar Association are trying to disbar for defending the Communist "11" has his troubles. But last week 4,000 shoe workers acclaimed him lavishly for the part he played in aiding them win a 10-cent an hour wage increase.

Packed into Manhattan Center to ratify the terms of a settlement, the 4,000 rocked the huge hall with applause for their fighting attorney.

Moved by the ovation, Sacher told the cheering shoe workers: "You don't know how much this means to me."

The tears of many older workers, seated in the first few rows of the hall, showed that they did.

Referring briefly to the frameup being applied against him, Sacher said "in my 20 years as a labor lawyer, I've made many enemies among employers and their lawyers in the bar association.

"They may try to put me in jail, or disbar me—but in your cause I'll always serve," he exclaimed.

★

SINCE JUDGE Medina handed down his vindictive jail sentence against the attorney, the bar association has acted to stop Sa-

cher from practicing law entirely.

To the shoe workers, it was as if a boss were trying to throw one of the most active union leaders out of a shop for leading a fight to secure better wages and working conditions.

Just as they would spring to the defense of such a union leader, the shoe workers acclaimed their support of Sacher in his battle to reverse Medina's jail sentence and maintain his right to work in his chosen profession.

Sacher praised the fighting unity of the shoe workers. He said the two-week stoppage they conducted against the Shoe Manufacturers Board of Trade was a "credit and example" to all unions in the country.



HARRY SACHER

It showed, he added, that "if contracts don't answer the needs of the working people, then it is contracts that must die and not

men, women and children."

The stoppage, he explained, was an answer to the warmongers and profiteers and those who want to profit out of the blood and sweat and tears of the working people.

What was needed, he declared, was a fight for peace by the working people, "to bring peace and quiet and prosperity in the world."

That the shoe workers agreed with, too.

### LEADERSHIP IN COMMUNIST FRONTS

Identified Communist lawyers who assume prominent roles in the party's front organizations and special propaganda campaigns furnish another important type of extralegal service to the Communist Party.

West Coast lawyer Aubrey Grossman, who has been an official of the Communist Party itself, served for years as West Coast director and then national organizational secretary or director of the party's legal front, the Civil Rights Congress. During this assignment, the Civil Rights Congress went into high gear in a fund-raising and propaganda campaign in behalf of the national Communist Party officials prosecuted under the Smith Act. In speeches throughout the country and in published articles, Mr. Grossman, billed as an attorney and civil-rights expert, spread the Communist Party line regarding alleged unjustified persecution of Communist leaders, attacked the American jury system, and even advised Americans to refuse to cooperate or talk with representatives of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

In behind-the-scenes operations of Communist-front organizations such as the Civil Rights Congress, the identified Communist lawyer has also been known to play roles in direct contravention of the ethical standards required of a member of the bar.

A former undercover agent within the Communist Party, who was assigned by the party to work with the Civil Rights Congress in San Diego, described how the CRC was required to develop a propaganda campaign in defense of a San Diego man involved in legal proceedings, although the case involved no Communist issue. The witness testified that the Communist Party was not interested in the man's innocence or guilt, but was concerned only with exploiting the case for propaganda purposes to benefit the party. The witness and other San Diego Communists who were required to conduct this CRC campaign received personal instructions from Richard Rykoff, an identified Communist lawyer of Los Angeles, on what steps to take to conceal the real Communist purpose behind their campaign.

### CANDIDATES FOR PUBLIC OFFICE

Political activity and the acquisition of political power are vital to Communist success in taking over any country. For this reason the party has always encouraged its members (both open and secret) to run for public office. Their campaigns serve as sounding boards for party propaganda in the party's efforts to influence not only public opinion but also legislation and governmental policy.

Communist attorneys are particularly valuable to the conspiracy in this endeavor because lawyers are so widely accepted by the public as especially qualified for public office.

The Communist Party today usually establishes "front" or cover political parties as a means of getting its candidates into public office. Even in cases in which the party feels certain that there is little chance that any of its candidates will be elected through this device, it still considers such activity vital. It has learned through experience that a political campaign is the most effective means at its disposal for reaching large numbers of people with the Communist Party line on key national and local issues.

The Independent Progressive Party, a political organization in the State of California which the Communist Party secretly controlled and directed in an effort to advance its influence in American political life, frequently exploited the prestige of the legal profession by selecting identified Communist lawyers as candidates for political office. Typical of such candidates were Bertram Edises and Charles R. Garry, of San Francisco. Mr. Edises was a candidate for district attorney of Alameda County on an IPP ticket in 1950, and Mr. Garry aspired to a seat in the United States Congress under IPP auspices in two elections during the same period. Publicity surrounding their campaigns, omitting any reference to their connections with the Communist Party, emphasized the alleged prominence of these candidates as "labor" or "civil rights" lawyers.

The American Labor Party in New York, which has been cited as another "political front organization"<sup>22</sup> enabling the Communists to present their candidates under other than a straight Communist label, has also picked identified Communist lawyers as candidates for important public office. For example, Morris Zuckman, who has been engaged in law practice in Albany, N. Y., since the 1930's, was the American Labor Party's candidate for mayor of Albany in 1949. Mr. Zuckman was identified as a member of the Communist Party by a number of witnesses before this committee, and he has refused to answer this committee's questions regarding his party activity on the grounds of possible self-incrimination.

#### PROPAGANDISTS FOR COMMUNIST CAUSES

Identified Communist lawyers have appeared time and time again as featured speakers at public rallies held to promote Communist objectives, and as lecturers in Communist-operated institutions such as the Jefferson School of Social Science in New York and the California Labor School in San Francisco.

John J. Abt, the former leader of one Communist underground espionage group of United States Government employees, was cleverly publicized as a "noted constitutional authority" when appearing as speaker against the Walter-McCarran Act at a rally sponsored by the Communist front, the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born. The organization before which he appeared has as one of its key aims destruction of our Government's security legislation.

Such exploitation of a lawyer's prestige and speaking ability undoubtedly has aided the Communist Party in its efforts to recruit sympathizers within the vast non-Communist majority of our Nation. Take, for example, the activities of Maurice Braverman, a Baltimore, Md., lawyer who served on the top governing body of the Communist Party organization for the State of Maryland and the District of Columbia.

Mr. Braverman was indicted in 1951 under the Smith Act for conspiracy to advocate violent overthrow of the United States Government. Prior to his trial, he spoke before Yale University law students in their law-school auditorium through an "invitation" from the student chapter of the Communist front, the National Lawyers

<sup>22</sup> Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Handbook for Americans, S. Doc. 117, April 23, 1950, p. 91.



Guild. In a subsequent interview appearing in the Daily Worker, Mr. Braverman stated that many of the Yale law students showed concern that the Government was prosecuting Communist leaders under the Smith Act, and that he had impressed some students to such an extent that they offered to help him in "legal research" for his defense in the forthcoming trial.

It is evident from just the few examples of Communist exploitation of the legal profession cited here that the Communist Party gains tremendously by having its members admitted to the bar. The party has obviously long been aware that a lawyer's special training and prestige can lead to positions of prominence in our society where he can wield substantial influence extending far beyond the limits of his routine professional activities. The Communist Party has also taken full advantage of the fact that non-Communists are not generally ready to suspect that anyone with the attainments and unique privileges of a lawyer would also serve as an agent of the Communist conspiracy.

### CASE HISTORIES OF SOME IDENTIFIED COMMUNIST LAWYERS

This report hereafter presents a more detailed description of publicly recorded activities engaged in by certain lawyers who have been identified as members of the Communist Party.

The lawyers referred to below represent only a small percentage of the identified Communists within the legal profession. They have been selected for inclusion in this report because they exemplify patterns of activity which have aroused the concern of this committee. It should also be noted that their records here are limited to that information which is available in public hearings or in public material contained in this committee's files.

#### JOHN J. ABT, NEW YORK

Whittaker Chambers testified before this committee on August 3, 1948, that in the early 1930's John J. Abt was a member of the so-called Ware-Abt-Witt group which was composed of Communist Party members employed by various agencies of the United States Government. Abt held legal posts with various United States Government agencies from 1933 until the summer of 1938; he was in the Legal Division of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration of the Agriculture Department when Chambers knew him. Chambers stated that this underground Communist group to which Abt belonged was organized to carry out the Communist Party's plan to work its members into high, policymaking positions in our Government, with espionage as one of its eventual objectives.

Elizabeth Bentley, who served as courier between Soviet agents and Communist employees of the Federal Government in the early 1940's, described another so-called "Perlo group" of Communists in the Government in sworn testimony before this committee on July 31, 1948. The Perlo group, according to Miss Bentley, was an underground group of Communists which had been operating since the early 1930's in the Federal Government and which had been collecting informa-



tion for the benefit of the Soviet Union for some years. Miss Bentley testified that John Abt was the leader of the Perlo group before she herself took it over in March 1944, and that she met Mr. Abt twice for the purpose of being introduced to the members of the group.

At a hearing by this committee on August 20, 1948, Abt was given an opportunity to refute these charges, but declined to answer questions regarding them on the grounds of possible self-incrimination. As a witness before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee on May 26, 1953, he again invoked the fifth amendment in refusing to answer questions regarding Communist activities.

In 1948, John Abt became special counsel for the Progressive Party, a Communist-controlled organization through which the Communists were enabled to present their candidates for elective office under other than a Communist label. Abt was a delegate to the second annual convention of the Progressive Party held in 1948 at the Knickerbocker Hotel, Chicago. He was a member of the national committee in 1950 and a member of the committee on candidates' declaration in 1952. The same year he was secretary of the platform committee of the third national convention, held at the Ashland Auditorium in Chicago. The Progressive Party held a dinner to celebrate his 50th birthday in 1954.

John Abt was active in the Civil Rights Congress, an organization formed in 1946 as a merger of two other Communist-front organizations (International Labor Defense and the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties) and dedicated to the defense of individual Communists and the Communist Party. By making special appeals in behalf of civil liberties, the Civil Rights Congress reached far beyond the confines of the Communist Party itself.

In 1953 the Civil Rights Congress held a "Peoples Conference To Fight the McCarran Law Persecutions and McCarthyism." Abt delivered the keynote address in which he attacked the Internal Security Act as an American kind of fascism aimed at paralyzing all opposition. "The act," he said, "is rooted in the Big Lie of our time—the lie as to the nature of communism." He declared that the Communist Party is "condemned for views which concededly may be true and good."

This speech was later published by the Civil Rights Congress in booklet form. In order to lend greater weight to his Communist Party line analysis the booklet listed some of his former positions: "Mr. Abt was formerly chief counsel to the La Follette Civil Liberties Committee (Senate Committee on Education and Labor); special assistant to the United States Attorney General; and general counsel of the CIO Amalgamated Clothing Workers."

In 1937 John Abt was employed by the Department of Justice as an assistant to the Attorney General in charge of the trial section of the Antitrust Division. He was at the same time a member of the committee on civil rights and liberties of the National Lawyers Guild, cited as the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party, which, since its inception, has never failed to rally to the legal defense of the Communist Party and individual members thereof, including known espionage agents.

The November-December 1945 issue of the Lawyers Guild Review, organ of the National Lawyers Guild, contained an article by Abt

titled "Some Observations on Soviet Law and Lawyers." Mr. Abt's article was based on his observations during a visit to the Soviet Union in 1945. In spite of the notorious police state justice of the Soviet Union, Abt reported how impressed he was with the stern but fair attitude of prosecutors and judges and the scrupulous care given to safeguard the rights of defendants and to assure them a full and fair trial.

He attended a conference of the World Federation of Trade Unions held in Paris in 1946, acting in the capacity of adviser. In 1947, Abt's passport was again revalidated for travel to Prague, Czechoslovakia, where he attended another conference of the World Federation of Trade Unions, the Kremlin's worldwide labor organization.

After his return to this country, Abt wrote a series of articles for Soviet Russia Today, a Communist-controlled magazine which his wife, Jessica Smith, edited. Two of the articles gave an approbatory report of the methods used by the Russian labor unions to settle grievances and the Russian health insurance plans.

The American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born is one of the oldest auxiliaries of the Communist Party in the United States. John Abt was one of the lawyers saluted at a dinner held under the auspices of the ACPFB in October 1956.

He delivered an address on "What the New Laws Really Mean" at the Arts, Sciences, and Professions Council, Sunday Night Forum in New York, September 24, 1954. This Communist-front organization was used by the Communist Party to appeal to special occupational groups.

In November of 1954, John Abt was one of the teachers of a course on the "Bill of Rights: Its Theory and Politics," offered at the Jefferson School of Social Science, one of the Communist Party schools used to indoctrinate Communists and outsiders in the theory and practice of communism, and to recruit new party members and sympathizers.

In 1949 Abt issued a statement denouncing the conviction of the 11 Communist leaders under the Smith Act as an imposition of thought control. He was one of the lawyers who signed a brief petitioning the United States circuit court of appeals to void the contempt convictions of the lawyers who defended the Communist leaders.

Continuing his support of these party leaders, he was speaker at a rally of the National Conference To Win Amnesty for Smith Act Victims held in New York in June 1952, and was speaker and chairman of a rally of the National Committee To Win Amnesty for Smith Act Victims held at Chateau Gardens, New York, on June 10, 1954.

#### GEORGE R. ANDERSEN, CALIFORNIA

George Andersen was identified as a member of the Communist Party in San Francisco by Mrs. Dorothy Jeffers, former Federal Bureau of Investigation undercover agent within the party, who testified before this committee on June 21, 1957.

Mr. Andersen has been prominent in Communist-controlled organizations particularly designed to provide legal defense for the Communist Party. In 1922, the Communist International established the International Red Aid with the idea that it would have sections in various countries of the world. The American section of the Inter-

national Red Aid was the International Labor Defense, which served as the legal defense arm of the Communist Party in this country. Andersen was a member of the national committee of this Communist-controlled organization in the early 1940's and was also on its legal advisory board.

The International Red Aid held its second international conference in Moscow. As a result of this conference a number of directives were issued in connection with juridical questions then facing the Communists.

Among the directives were: "The proletariat must gather and organize those lawyers and learned barristers in various countries who sympathize with the liberation struggle and are prepared, together with the legal bureau of the IRA, to assist and give legal help to the victims of the class domination of the bourgeoisie \* \* \*

"To organize legal bureaus in every country where they do not yet exist and where this is possible, in particular in England, the U. S. A. and Japan \* \* \*

"To strive to enlarge the number of lawyers who take part in this work by attracting more and more new cadres of lawyers and jurists who can be stimulated by their own interests and their sympathy with the revolution to gather around the IRA legal bureau."

George Andersen helped to found a "legal bureau" established in response to this directive in the United States in the early 1930's under the name of the International Juridical Association. He served on the national committee of this Communist-controlled offshoot of the International Labor Defense in 1942. In the same year, he was legal adviser for the Committee for Citizenship Rights, which was intended to protect Communist subversion from any penalties under the law.

In 1942 the IJA quietly disappeared from the scene, and its Bulletin of December 1942 announced that hereafter "the Bulletin will be published as an integral part of the Lawyers Guild Review. \* \* \*". One of the reasons given by the Bulletin for this merger was because "the opportunity now offered for joining forces with the National Lawyers Guild \* \* \* we believe will more than repair our capacity to produce and, also, greatly widen the area of our influence."

Andersen, an active member of the IJA, was also one of the leaders of the National Lawyers Guild. In 1937, just a year after the formation of this foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party, Andersen was serving as director of its San Francisco chapter. He served on the guild's national executive board in 1956-57.

The American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born in 1947 named Mr. Andersen as one of its "local counsel" in San Francisco. He has frequently appeared as speaker at affairs of the San Francisco branch of the ACPFB, known as the Northern California Committee for Protection of Foreign Born. In 1954, the Northern California Committee tendered Mr. Andersen a testimonial dinner.

Mr. Andersen was a candidate for Congress on the ticket of the Communist-created Independent Progressive Party in 1954. Statements of ownership filed by the West Coast Communist organ, the Daily People's World, showed that Mr. Andersen was a stockholder in the newspaper's publishing company in the years 1947, 1949, and 1952-54. His services as a speaker have been utilized by such other

Communist-controlled organizations as the San Francisco chapter of the Civil Rights Congress.

### SELMA MICKELS BACHELIS, CALIFORNIA

Selma Bachelis was identified as a member of the Communist Party in Los Angeles by the following former party members in sworn testimony before this committee: David Aaron, January 23, 1952; Albert Herzig, January 23, 1952; A. Marburg Yerkes, January 24, 1952; William G. Israel, January 25, 1952; Milton Tyre, December 14, 1951; and Charlotte Darling Adams, June 2, 1953.

Mrs. Bachelis was described in 1950 in the Communist organ, *Daily People's World*, as a local Civil Rights Congress attorney. She was then engaged by the CRC to represent three women arrested for passing out to Lockheed aircraft workers leaflets entitled "What Are U. S. Troops Doing in Korea?" Mrs. Bachelis had signed an appeal issued in 1948 by the Los Angeles chapter of the Civil Rights Congress in behalf of individuals cited for contempt for refusing to answer questions before a grand jury investigating Communist activities in Los Angeles. She was also one of the financial contributors to the publication of the Civil Rights Congress booklet entitled, "Civil Rights Congress Tells the Story."

Mrs. Bachelis endorsed the candidacy of LaRue McCormick, candidate for the California State Senate on the Communist Party ticket in 1942. In the same year, she sponsored petitions for the release of Earl Browder from a Federal penitentiary, and sent greetings to the Second Soviet Anti-Fascist Youth Conference in Moscow.

In a letter to the editors of the West Coast Communist publication, the *Daily People's World*, on February 29, 1952, Mrs. Bachelis noted that the editors were then defendants in Smith Act proceedings by the Government and concluded that the paper "deserves support of all your countrymen who value the precious tradition of free press."

### HARRIET BOUSLOG, HAWAII

Harriet Bouslog (Mrs. Harold Sawyer) was identified as a member of the Communist Party in Hawaii by a former fellow party member, Jack Kawano, who testified before this committee on July 6, 1951. She was also identified as a Communist Party member by former Communist Dorothy Funn, who appeared as a witness before the committee on May 4, 1953. Mrs. Bouslog appeared as a witness before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee at hearings held in Hawaii on December 5, 1956, and invoked the fifth amendment in refusing to answer questions regarding Communist affiliations.

Since the mid-1940's, Mrs. Bouslog has served as attorney for the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, which was expelled from the CIO in 1950 for adhering to the Communist Party line. Mrs. Bouslog was legal representative for the ILWU in Washington, D. C., from approximately 1943 until the middle of 1946. It was during this period that Mrs. Funn testified she had associated with Mrs. Bouslog in Communist Party activities in Washington. In 1946, Mrs. Bouslog returned to the Territory of Hawaii, where she has since served as legal representative for the ILWU in the Territory.

Mrs. Bouslog's activities in behalf of the Communist Party in Hawaii were described by Mr. Kawano. In Communist discussions prior to the emergence of the Communist Party of Hawaii as an open, rather than underground, organization in 1948, Mrs. Bouslog argued that an aboveground party apparatus would help both the party and the ILWU, Kawano reported. Mrs. Bouslog, he said, observed that the ILWU had been taking the brunt of opposition to Communist activities and that some of this opposition could be diverted to an open Communist Party.

The degree of influence among non-Communists that can be attained by a Communist working as a member of the legal profession was strikingly demonstrated by Mr. Kawano's testimony regarding Mrs. Bouslog and another ILWU attorney in Hawaii, Myer C. Symonds.<sup>23</sup> Mr. Kawano said:

\* \* \* as far as the influence of the two lawyers, Harriet Bouslog and Myer C. Symonds, is concerned, they have made quite a reputation for themselves in the islands. There are a lot of independent people outside of the labor movement today looking up to them as good lawyers. I have heard a lot of rumors among outsiders—because today I am one of the outsiders—and the talk among outsiders today is that, if you have a case and you cannot afford to lose the case, then the lawyer to get is either Bouslog or Symonds, because they work for a cheap fee, and work like the dickens, and usually win the case. \* \* \*

Another thing. A lot of people who are not Republican and not Democratic, but to some extent used to have personal friends, some had Republican friends and some Democratic friends, and whenever they had problems they used to run up to the Republicans or to Democrats, today they are running to Bouslog and Symonds. These people are not the most influential people in town, but they are influential and a lot of people are following them. \* \* \* The influence of Harriet Bouslog is growing \* \* \*<sup>24</sup>

Harriet Bouslog acted as one of the defense attorneys for seven defendants in Hawaii tried and convicted of conspiracy to advocate violent overthrow of the United States Government. Mrs. Bouslog was found guilty of "gross misconduct" during the course of her appearance as counsel during this Smith Act trial, and the Territorial supreme court, by unanimous action on April 6, 1956, ordered Mrs. Bouslog suspended from the practice of law for 1 year.

Richard Kageyama, a former Communist Party member in Hawaii, who testified frankly before the committee regarding his knowledge of Communist activities in the Territory, described an attempt by party officials to prevent him from giving information to the committee. Mr. Kageyama said that, prior to the arrival of the committee in the Territory, he had been visited by Charles Fujimoto, chairman of the Territorial Communist Party, and warned not to be a "stool pigeon." Mr. Kageyama was advised by Mr. Fujimoto to take any subpoena he might receive from this committee to lawyer

<sup>23</sup> Myer C. Symonds appeared as a witness before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee on December 5, 1956, and invoked the fifth amendment rather than answer questions regarding Communist Party membership or activities.

<sup>24</sup> Hearings Regarding Communist Activities in the Territory of Hawaii, pt. 4, House Committee on Un-American Activities, July 6, 1951, pp. 50 and 51.

Bouslog. Easter J. Doyle, another former Communist Party member who cooperated fully as a witness before the committee, also informed the committee that he had disregarded instructions from Ernest Arena, an identified Communist and local ILWU official, to take any subpoena from this committee to ILWU Lawyers Bouslog and Symonds.

One of the Communist-front organizations in which Mrs. Bouslog has been active is the Hawaii Civil Liberties Committee, an ostensible civil-rights group which this committee found to be the "most effective sounding board for communism in the Territory of Hawaii." HCLC records in the possession of the committee show that the front organization has made a number of financial disbursements to Mrs. Bouslog for "legal expenses," among them her work in connection with the defense of two identified Communists dismissed from teaching positions in the Territory. Mrs. Bouslog has frequently been a featured speaker at HCLC meetings. When the HCLC, in 1948, sponsored a speaking tour of the islands by Celeste Strack, openly avowed educational director of the California Communist Party, Mrs. Bouslog shared the speaking platform with Miss Strack at her Honolulu lecture.

Mrs. Bouslog was elected a member-at-large of the executive board of the National Lawyers Guild at the 1956 and 1957 conventions of the guild.

#### MAURICE LOUIS BRAVERMAN, MARYLAND

Maurice Braverman was known to three witnesses who testified before this committee as a member of the top-level district committee which governed the Communist Party organization within the District of Columbia and the State of Maryland. Mr. Braverman's activities within the Communist Party were described by Henry Thomas, active in the District of Columbia Communist Party from the late 1930's until 1949, who testified on December 6, 1950; by Dorothy Funn, a party member in Washington, D. C., from 1943 to 1946, who testified on May 4, 1953; and by Mary Stalcup Markward, a Federal Bureau of Investigation undercover agent within the party from 1943 to 1950, who testified on July 11, 1951.

Mrs. Markward stated that Mr. Braverman did legal work for the Communist Party. As an example, she said he handled the legal action involved in a \$1,500 legacy to the Communist Party in Washington, D. C., in the mid-1940's. The party, which had temporarily changed its name to the Communist Political Association, had to prove it was the same organization as that designated by the legacy.

Mr. Braverman appeared as attorney for William Rosen, when the latter was subpoenaed before this committee in August and September 1948 for the purpose of clarifying certain aspects of the Alger Hiss case. Mr. Rosen on both occasions invoked the fifth amendment in refusing to give any information to the committee relating to the Hiss case or to his own current activities in the Communist Party. Thereafter, the committee called Mr. Braverman as a witness on September 9, 1948, explaining that it was interested in knowing if the Communist Party had instructed him to prevent Rosen from testifying frankly. Mr. Braverman, admitting to the committee that he had provided legal representation for the Communist Party in the past, refused on grounds of self-incrimination to state whether or not



he was a member of the Communist Party or whether or not the party put him in touch with Rosen as a client. A member of the committee then advised Mr. Braverman that: "The caliber of the answers of Mr. Rosen, your client, raises grave suspicion in the minds of the committee that a conspiracy to commit contempt has been established. This committee and all other committees of Congress will continue to have all the respect for the efforts of the law and lawyers, attorneys, but it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that an attorney, too, is a traitor to his country."

In 1951, he was arrested along with other Maryland Communist Party leaders under provisions of the Smith Act; during the following year he was tried and convicted of violating the Smith Act by conspiring to advocate forceful overthrow of the United States Government; his sentence was a \$1,000 fine and a 3-year prison term, completed in 1955. Subsequent to his conviction under the Smith Act, Mr. Braverman was barred from practice in Maryland courts and Federal courts.

Mr. Braverman's service to Communist-front organizations included membership on a special committee of the Baltimore chapter of the National Lawyers Guild in 1946. After his indictment under the Smith Act in 1951, Mr. Braverman accepted an invitation of the guild's student chapter at Yale University to address Yale law students in the law school auditorium. In a subsequent interview appearing in the Daily Worker, Mr. Braverman boasted that, as a result of his speech at Yale University, many law students showed concern that the Government was prosecuting Communists under the Smith Act and that some law students were so impressed they offered to help Mr. Braverman with "legal research" for his defense as a Smith Act defendant. Mr. Braverman, although indicted on criminal charges of conspiracy to advocate violent overthrow of our Government, had given the students the usual party-line propaganda that the Government was using the Smith Act "to stop the peace movement and the fight for Negro rights."

Mr. Braverman has also signed his name to a Communist propaganda statement issued by the Baltimore County Committee for Peace, and has sent greetings to a national gathering of the Communist-controlled American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born.

#### JOHN CAUGHLAN, WASHINGTON STATE

John Caughlan was identified as a member of the Communist Party in Seattle by two former party members, Elizabeth Boggs Cohen and Barbara Hartle. These witnesses, testifying before this committee on May 28, 1954, and June 16, 1954, respectively, both stated that Mr. Caughlan handled the Communist Party's legal work. In addition to handling law cases involving the party, Mrs. Hartle reported that Mr. Caughlan's duties as party attorney included advising party functionaries of procedures to be followed in regard to subpoenas served by the Washington State Committee on Un-American Activities during that committee's investigation of local Communist activities.

Mr. Caughlan was subpoenaed as a witness before this committee on June 19, 1954, but refused to answer all questions regarding membership in the Communist Party on grounds of the fifth amendment. Called again as a witness on December 14, 1956, Mr. Caughlan denied

party membership at the time of his appearance but again invoked the fifth amendment regarding previous party activities.

Mr. Caughlan was described by the Daily People's World, West Coast Communist newspaper, as Washington State's "foremost fighter" against the Washington State Committee on Un-American Activities. It was noted that he had challenged the constitutionality of the local investigating committee by filing a referendum petition with the Secretary of State and, when this action was unsuccessful, he had carried equally vain challenges of the committee as far as the State supreme court.

The legal talents of Mr. Caughlan have benefited a number of front organizations of the Communist Party. In the early 1940's, Mr. Caughlan was retained by the International Labor Defense, then "legal arm of the Communist Party," to institute legal proceedings on behalf of certain dismissed WPA workers. Committee files record him as a member of the executive board of the National Lawyers Guild during the years 1949, 1950, 1956, and 1957.

He has served as attorney for the Washington Pension Union, a Communist-controlled organization which helped the party achieve great political influence in the Pacific Northwest area. He has also acted as legal representative for unions whose adherence to the Communist Party line resulted in their expulsion from the CIO, namely: the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, National Union of Marine Cooks and Stewards, International Union of Fishermen and Allied Workers, and the Food, Tobacco, and Agricultural Workers of America.

Mr. Caughlan has also been active in the affairs of the Washington Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, usually in the capacity of speaker at its meetings.

In 1948, Mr. Caughlan was a candidate for the Washington State Legislature on the Progressive Party ticket. The Progressive Party has been cited as one of the largest and most successful fronts ever created by the Communists.

Committee files show that Mr. Caughlan has also been a member of the Civil Rights Congress in Seattle, and a trustee of its bail trust fund. Testimony of such former high-ranking Communists as Bella Dodd and Barbara Hartle before the Subversive Activities Control Board demonstrated that the Communist Party had organized the Civil Rights Congress to take care of party members implicated with the law and, from the beginning, had stressed the need for the Civil Rights Congress to raise bail funds which the party in its own name could not as successfully amass.

Testimony before the SACB showed that these bail fund drives accelerated after the indictment of national party leaders under the Smith Act in 1948, and that hundreds of thousands of dollars were subsequently paid from the funds for bail for Smith Act defendants or party leaders and members subject to deportation proceedings. In Seattle, the Civil Rights Congress bail trust fund was established in 1948 with trustees, including Mr. Caughlan, who were all identified Communist Party members.

Mr. Caughlan has also served on the executive committee of such Communist fronts as the Washington Commonwealth Federation and the Washington State Committee for Freedom for Earl Browder.



## FRANK J. DONNER, NEW YORK

Frank Donner was identified by a number of witnesses before this committee as a member of a Communist cell comprised of lawyers employed by the National Labor Relations Board in Washington, D. C.

Herbert Fuchs, a former Communist who had helped to organize this cell in 1937 and actively participated in it until his transfer from Washington in 1942, testified on December 13, 1955, that Frank Donner was one of the NLRB lawyers who joined his conspiratorial Communist group.

On December 14, 1955, Mortimer Riemer, another former member of the Communist cell in the NLRB, confirmed Fuchs' testimony regarding Frank Donner. Donner was again identified by ex-Communist Harry Cooper on March 1, 1956.

Frank Donner, on June 28, 1956, appeared as a witness before this committee. Although admitting he was employed by the NLRB from 1940 until 1945 in the Litigation Section, he invoked the first and fifth amendments when he was questioned concerning Communist Party membership and affiliations. Mr. Donner was confronted with a United States Civil Service Commission questionnaire he had signed on June 2, 1943, while employed by the NLRB. On this official form, he had replied "no" to a question as to whether or not he held membership in a Communist organization. Conceding that the signature was his, Mr. Donner nevertheless invoked the fifth amendment when asked by the committee if he had been "truthful" in this statement to the United States Government.

Frank Donner was recently named general counsel for the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America. This Communist-controlled union, which was ousted by the CIO in 1950, is a recognized bargaining agent in many of our vital defense industries. The UE in a recent pamphlet described its new counsel as being "recognized as one of the foremost authorities on NLRB law." It failed to mention that Donner was publicly identified as being a member of a conspiratorial Communist cell while employed as an attorney at the NLRB in the 1940's.

Frank Donner was one of the principal speakers at the Ninth Annual Convention of the National Lawyers Guild held in February 1949. In 1953 he was elected a voting member of the board of directors at the annual meeting, and chairman of the conference working group of the national conference of the guild to be held in October at the Barbizon Plaza. He was again elected to the board of directors in 1954.

At a dinner sponsored by the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born on October 11, 1956, one of the lawyers saluted for their work aiding this Communist-controlled organization was Frank Donner.

Donner has on different occasions been engaged as a speaker for the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, an organization cited as Communist controlled by the Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee. Speaking on such topics as "Informers as a Means of Suppression," and "Informers as Tools," Donner has excoriated all individuals who have been of assistance to congressional committees.

## BENJAMIN DREYFUS, CALIFORNIA

During this committee's hearings in San Francisco, Calif., in June 1957, Jack Patten, a former member of the Communist Party, identified Benjamin Dreyfus as a member of the Communist Party cell to which Patten had belonged.

Benjamin Dreyfus was summoned to appear before the committee on June 21, 1957, and asked to either confirm or deny the testimony of Patten. Dreyfus refused to answer and invoked the fifth amendment as one of the grounds.

A member of the National Lawyers Guild for many years, Mr. Dreyfus was elected secretary of the San Francisco chapter in 1941, treasurer in 1944, executive secretary in 1945, and secretary in 1947, 1949, and 1950. In 1954 he was a delegate from the Bay area to the 19th annual convention of the National Lawyers Guild in Chicago. He was elected to the executive board at the 1956 convention and again in 1957.

Dreyfus has been active in another standby of the Communist Party, the Civil Rights Congress. In 1949 he was toastmaster at a Civil Rights Congress dinner that was the kickoff in a campaign of protest against Judge Harold R. Medina's refusal to grant bail to 11 Communist leaders convicted under the Smith Act. He has endorsed the CRC campaign against anti-Communist legislation and against the deportation of Communists. Dreyfus has protested the conviction of Communist leaders by signing statements in their behalf.

In 1957 Dreyfus was an instructor at the California Labor School, one of the Communist Party schools operated for the purpose of indoctrinating Communists and outsiders in the theory and practice of communism and training Communist organizers and operatives.

## BERTRAM EDISES, CALIFORNIA

This committee made an investigation of Communist activities in the San Francisco, Calif., area in 1953. At the hearings held on December 3, Bertram Edises was identified as a member of the political affairs committee of the Communist Party by Charles D. Blodgett, a former Communist and former reporter for the Daily People's World. He was again identified on June 19, 1957, by Dr. Jack Patten, another former Communist who recognized the ideological fallacies of the Communist Party line.

Edises has served as a member of the legal staff of the East Bay Civil Rights Congress since its inception. As a matter of fact, it was brought out in sworn testimony that Edises was assigned by the Communist Party to work with the Civil Rights Congress in the East Bay area. In 1947 he was chairman of the organization, and he has also held the positions of general counsel and chief counsel of this Communist-front organization. The CRC retained Edises to represent certain defendants in both State and Federal courts.

The activities of Bertram Edises on behalf of the Communist Party have not been confined to the Civil Rights Congress. In 1944 he was elected as an alternate member of the State committee of the Communist Political Association. In 1950 he was a candidate of the Independent Progressive Party for district attorney of Alameda County.

Edises was one of the Bay area lawyers who, in a 1949 statement,

protested the action of Judge Medina when the judge sentenced a group of defense lawyers for contempt as a result of their conduct in the Smith Act trial of top Communist Party leaders in New York.

An article by Bertram Edises appeared in the summer 1958 edition of the National Lawyers Guild publication, the Lawyers Guild Review, in which Edises again attacked the contempt sentences against the lawyers in the New York Smith Act trial. Entitled "Contempt of Court and the Lawyer: the Unequal Combat," the article classified legal proceedings involving Communist leaders as "political trials" in which "the courts are used for the State's attempted suppression of unpopular opinion." Declaring that such trials "have been productive of bad law and bad tempers," Edises asserted that, "It is therefore no accident that among the least defensible decisions in contempt cases have been those arising directly or indirectly out of the anti-Communist hysteria."

Some of the other Communist-front organizations supported by Edises are the Washington Committee for Democratic Action, an organization whose alleged purpose was defending civil liberties in general but actually intended to protect Communist subversion from any penalties under the law, and the American League for Peace and Democracy, an organization which was nothing more nor less than a bold advocate of treason. The California Labor School had Edises' services as a teacher. He also supported the Committee for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact, a Communist front which sought to paralyze America's will to resist Communist aggression by idealizing Russia's aims and methods. The Daily People's World, a Communist propaganda organ which, according to the sworn testimony of one of its former reporters, was used for directing the Communist movement and giving instruction to the fringe of the Communist movement, has had the support and praise of Bertram Edises for many years.

#### PAULINE EPSTEIN, CALIFORNIA

Pauline Epstein was identified as a member of the Communist Party by three fellow lawyers who had participated in party activities with her. The former Communist lawyers, David Aaron, A. Marburg Yerkes, and William G. Israel, testified before this committee on January 23, January 24, and January 25, 1952, respectively.

Miss Epstein was subpoenaed as a witness before the committee on September 30, 1952. She stated she had been engaged in the practice of law in Los Angeles since December 1933 but refused to answer all questions relating to Communist Party membership on the grounds of possible self-incrimination.

When Henry Steinberg, legislative director of the Los Angeles County Communist Party, was arrested in 1951 under the provisions of the Smith Act, Miss Epstein appeared as speaker at a meeting to organize a defense committee for Steinberg and raise funds for his benefit.

As an attorney retained by the Communist-controlled Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, Miss Epstein was assigned to represent several individuals facing deportation proceedings in the early 1950's based on membership in the Communist Party. Miss Epstein presided over a legal panel at the annual conference of the Los Angeles committee in February 1953.

In 1951 and 1952, Miss Epstein served as treasurer of the Los Angeles chapter of the National Lawyers Guild. She was elected to the executive board of the national guild organization at the guild's 1956 and 1957 conventions.

Miss Epstein was one of the signers of a motion asking the United States Supreme Court for permission to file a brief for a rehearing in the case of six Baltimore, Md., Communists subject to Smith Act proceedings.

Committee files show that Pauline Epstein was scheduled as speaker at an American Russian Institute program on November 6, 1953, to commemorate the 36th anniversary of the founding of the Soviet Union. The Civil Rights Congress listed her as one of the financial contributors to its publication, Civil Rights Congress Tells the Story.

#### J. ALLAN FRANKEL, CALIFORNIA

J. Allan Frankel, who has practiced law in Los Angeles since 1911, was named as a member of a special lawyers' group of the Communist Party in Los Angeles by three former associates in the party, Lawyers David Aaron, A. Marburg Yerkes, and William G. Israel. The former Communists testified before this committee on January 23, 24, and 25, 1952, respectively. Mr. Frankel was also identified as a Communist by Dr. Louise Light Silver, who testified regarding her past activities in the Communist Party in Los Angeles in a January 21, 1952, appearance before this committee.

Subpenaed as a witness before the committee on October 1, 1952, Mr. Frankel invoked the fifth amendment rather than answer questions regarding Communist Party membership.

Mr. Frankel's legal training has been put at the service of such Communist-controlled organizations as the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born. In 1947 the ACPFB announced that Mr. Frankel had accepted a designation as its counsel for the Los Angeles area. As such, Mr. Frankel was required to represent this Communist front in his community and to serve in any local legal cases the organization chose to initiate. Mr. Frankel's role with the organization was not limited to legal work. The committee has in its files a canceled check in the sum of \$100 which was issued to Mr. Frankel on November 25, 1953, by the Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born. A notation on the check stated the Los Angeles branch of the ACPFB was repaying Mr. Frankel for a loan on March 27, 1951.

Mr. Frankel's name and professional status appear on a number of propaganda petitions issued by the Civil Rights Congress—for example, a 1948 petition in behalf of Communists indicted for contempt for failure to answer questions before a Los Angeles grand jury, and a 1951 appeal to the United States Attorney General in behalf of four jailed trustees of the bail fund of the New York Civil Rights Congress. In the latter period a CRC booklet, Civil Rights Congress Tells the Story, carried Mr. Frankel's name as one of the financial contributors to the publication.

Mr. Frankel served on the legal advisory committee of the International Labor Defense in the 1930's. In more recent years he has been active in the National Lawyers Guild. He was listed as a member of the civil rights committee of the Los Angeles chapter of the

guild in 1949. He was one of the advertisers in the anniversary program issued by the national guild organization for its convention in February 1957.

Protesting against a local Communist registration ordinance, Mr. Frankel submitted a brief to an El Monte, Calif., justice of the peace in 1950. His name has also appeared on numerous statements in behalf of top national Communist Party leaders convicted under the Smith Act, as well as California and Maryland Communists convicted under the same legislation.

The West Coast Communist newspaper, the Daily People's World, in 1952 printed May Day greetings it had received from Lawyer Frankel.

#### DAVID M. FREEDMAN, NEW YORK

Mortimer Riemer knew David Freedman as a fellow member of a special lawyer's group of the Communist Party in New York in 1936.<sup>25</sup> Mr. Freedman was still an active party member in 1949, according to former party functionary John Lautner.<sup>26</sup>

David M. Freedman was called as a witness before the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations on September 18, 1953, and personally confronted by Mr. Lautner. Mr. Freedman invoked the fifth amendment rather than affirm or deny Mr. Lautner's identification of him as an active Communist.

Mr. Freedman and his partners in the firm of Unger, Freedman & Fleischer were known as the Communist Party's lawyers, Mr. Lautner had also testified.

As a witness in Queens Surrogate's Court in May 1950, Mr. Freedman identified himself as a "dummy" incorporator and attorney for the Delcro Realty Corp. Testimony before the court indicated that the assets of this corporation involved property purchased as residences for Communist Party officials in New York State.

The Daily Worker publicized Mr. Freedman as being an attorney for the subversive Civil Rights Congress in 1949. Mr. Freedman had been active in the 1930's as attorney for the now defunct International Labor Defense. In that period, he was also frequently advertised as speaker at the official Communist Party school, the New York Workers School.

He has long been active in the affairs of the National Lawyers Guild. In 1937, he served on the guild's committee on economic welfare of the legal profession. In 1954, as a member of a special committee of the guild's New York City chapter, he presented the results of the committee study at a guild conference in New York City.

In 1947 and 1948, he sponsored the annual May Day parades organized by the Communist Party.

#### CHARLES R. GARRY, CALIFORNIA

Charles R. Garry, a practicing attorney in the city of San Francisco since 1938, was identified as a member of the Communist Party by Dr. Jack Patten, former party member in that city who testified before this committee on June 19, 1957.

<sup>25</sup> Testimony before House Committee on Un-American Activities, December 13, 1955.

<sup>26</sup> Testimony before House Committee on Un-American Activities, November 12, 1956; see also testimony before Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, September 18, 1953.

Mr. Garry was subpoenaed as a witness by the committee on June 21, 1957, but refused to answer questions regarding activities in the Communist Party on the grounds of possible self-incrimination.

Communist-run organizations and campaigns in the Northern California area have been able to rely on Mr. Garry both for legal services and for leadership roles.

The subversive Civil Rights Congress retained Mr. Garry in 1949 and 1952 to represent a number of defendants involved in legal proceedings in San Francisco. In 1949, he also served as spokesman for a delegation—organized by the Civil Rights Congress—which appeared before a local United States attorney to protest contempt sentences meted out to various identified Communists in Los Angeles for failing to answer Federal grand jury questions. He was featured as a speaker at local Civil Rights Congress propaganda rallies, such as an October 1949 mass meeting in San Francisco which raised \$5,000 for a bail fund for Communist Party defendants in legal proceedings, and an October 1953 mass meeting exploiting the Wesley Wells case. His name appeared on the San Francisco Civil Rights Congress petition to halt deportation proceedings against identified Communist aliens John Santo, Michael Obermeier, Alex Bittelman and Claudia Jones.

A member of the National Lawyers Guild since he was admitted to the bar in 1938, Mr. Garry represented the San Francisco chapter of the guild in submitting a brief against a local Communist registration ordinance in 1950. In that year, he was listed as a member of the executive board of the San Francisco chapter. Mr. Garry served as president of the chapter from 1951 through 1954. As chapter president, he signed a National Lawyers Guild friend of the court brief in 1954 in behalf of Mrs. Edith Brooks, who had been denied admission to the bar of California after refusing to tell a bar examining committee whether or not she had ever been a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. Garry was a delegate from the Bay area to the guild's national convention in 1954. At the 1956 national convention, he appeared as a panel speaker and was elected by the convention to the guild's national executive board. He was reelected to the executive board at the 1957 national convention, where he also served as chairman of the nominating committee.

In 1948, as a candidate of the Independent Progressive Party, Mr. Garry unsuccessfully sought election to the United States House of Representatives from California's Fifth Congressional District. He again attempted to gain a House seat with the same Communist-controlled political backing in a special election held in 1949.

As a political candidate in 1948, Mr. Garry announced his opposition to the Mundt-Nixon anti-Communist bill, the provisions of which became part of the Internal Security Act of 1950. At a series of public meetings during the same year, he was billed as a speaker against this so-called "police state" legislation and on one occasion personally joined a delegation to the San Francisco Board of Supervisors urging a board resolution to Congress against the bill. In his 1949 campaign for Congress, Mr. Garry's speeches continued to emphasize his opposition to official action against the Communist conspiracy. Typical was his radio speech in October 1949 in which he branded the Taft-Hartley Act, loyalty checks, deportations, and the



Smith Act trial of 11 national Communist Party leaders in New York as "part of the curtain of fear being drawn about our liberties."

In 1951, Charles Garry was publicized as being one of the signers of a number of statements protesting the United States Supreme Court's action in upholding the conviction of top Communist Party leaders under the Smith Act; the statements called for outright repeal of the anti-Communist legislation. Mr. Garry in 1953 was one of the signers of a motion asking the United States Supreme Court for permission to file a brief for a rehearing for Baltimore, Md., Communist Party leaders convicted under the Smith Act.

Other Communist fronts in which Mr. Garry played a leading role include the California Labor School and the International Workers Order, which scheduled him as featured speaker. The IWO has been cited as one of the most effective and closely knit organizations among Communist-front movements. Mr. Garry has also acted as an official sponsor and meeting chairman for the San Francisco Committee To Save the Rosenbergs.

#### RICHARD GLADSTEIN, CALIFORNIA

Richard Gladstein, who has spent a large part of his time in the defense of Communist causes, was identified as a member of the Communist Party by Dr. Jack Patten in sworn testimony before this committee on June 19, 1957.

Mr. Gladstein was admitted to the bar in 1931. With Aubrey Grossman, another identified Communist, he opened a law firm in San Francisco in 1936. They were credited in the Daily People's World with training the staffs for the Los Angeles law firm of Margolis & McTernan, the Honolulu firm of Bouslog & Symonds and the Oakland firm of Edises and Treuhaff. It is interesting to note that all of these lawyers except Symonds<sup>27</sup> have been publicly identified as members of the Communist Party in sworn testimony before this committee.

In 1949 Gladstein was one of the panel of attorneys defending the 11 national Communist leaders tried under the Smith Act. His abusive treatment of the court in this instance led Judge Medina to cite him for contempt of court and impose upon him a sentence of 6 months in jail. This report has already made reference to the frequent and deliberate efforts on the part of the defense attorneys to inject Communist propaganda into the record of this trial.

Mr. Gladstein served as official attorney for the Marine Cooks and Stewards Association of the Pacific, which was expelled from the CIO in 1950 for adhering to the Communist Party line. While serving as attorney, he worked vigorously to promote Communist control not only over the Marine Cooks union but other waterfront unions. This was documented in an affidavit submitted to the California Committee on Un-American Activities in December 1946 by William P. M. Brandhove. Brandhove, who had been in the merchant marine for 15 years, stated he had become increasingly aware of the influence of Communists in the Marine Cooks and Stewards Union and he determined to gain membership in the Communist Party in order to

<sup>27</sup> Myer C. Symonds appeared before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee on December 5, 1956, and invoked the fifth amendment in response to questions regarding Communist Party membership and activities.

see what methods the Communists were using. He cultivated the friendship of one of the leading Communists in the maritime union field. After a 4-month indoctrination period, Brandhove became a member of the Communist Party in February 1945 under the sponsorship of Hugh Bryson, president of the union.

As a member of the party Brandhove discovered that Communists controlled the Marine Cooks and Stewards Union through the installation of Communists in official union positions and through rigged union meetings.

Brandhove related that in April 1945, a top Communist fraction meeting was held at the home of Bryson, with Richard Gladstein, official union lawyer, acting as chairman. According to Brandhove, Gladstein announced that there would be a convention of the Marine Cooks and Stewards Union in July to adopt a new constitution. Gladstein allegedly boasted that the Communist Party had managed to get complete control of the finances and policy of the National Maritime Union, after the union adopted a Communist-rigged constitution. Gladstein then stated that the party had difficulty in getting "funds for furthering its program" from the Marine Cooks treasury under the existing constitution and that he had instructions from the party to prepare a new constitution for the Marine Cooks and Stewards Union for presentation and passage at the July convention. It was agreed at the fraction meeting that the best method of controlling the Marine Cooks convention would be to have party members assigned through the dispatchers' office to different ships, preferably coastwise, and notify only those ships where comrades were presently assigned that a convention was to take place.

Just prior to the convention, a meeting was held of all party members and fellow travelers. Brandhove reported that Richard Gladstein told them that a well organized, harmonious convention could best be achieved by advance agreement on strategy and committee arrangements.

Despite the fact that Brandhove, by exposing the Communist plot, made a desperate attempt to stop passage of Gladstein's constitution at the convention, he was unable to muster more than seven supporters who were delegates to the Communist-packed convention.

In 1947 the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born appointed Gladstein to be its local counsel in San Francisco. His work for the ACPFB was sufficient to win from the organization public praise for "contributing unselfishly" of his time.

Gladstein was among those who signed a letter sponsored by the Civil Rights Congress in 1948 protesting the deportation of Communists. A member of the National Lawyers Guild, he was elected vice president of the organization in 1950. When the guild held its 19th annual convention in November 1954, Gladstein was a delegate to the convention from the Bay area. He was associate editor of the Lawyers Guild Review in 1948.

Richard Gladstein has frequently used his legal training and speaking ability to serve Communist-controlled organizations as a public speaker and law analyst. In 1947 he was asked to analyze the Taft-Hartley law for the leaders of the United Office and Professional Workers of America at a conference called to develop a fighting program to protect members against what the UOPWA called "this



vicious" legislation. The UOPWA was expelled from the CIO in 1950 for its adherence to the Communist Party line.

After the Smith Act conviction of the national Communist leaders, Gladstein made a speaking tour of major West Coast cities, addressing lawyers and reading to them excerpts from the trial. The National Guardian, a publication which has manifested itself from the beginning as a virtual official propaganda arm of Soviet Russia, in commenting on the tour, reported that people to whom the excerpts were read were astounded at the lack of justice and fair play on the part of Judge Medina.

In 1951, the California Labor School scheduled Gladstein as head of a panel of attorneys who would discuss the recent California Committee on Un-American Activities hearings and would explain how people might "protect their rights" against "these un-American activities committees."

When the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born used his services as a speaker on one occasion in 1951, Gladstein was advertised as a noted constitutional authority who would analyze "the Walter-McCarran Act; Death to American Liberty."

#### AUBREY W. GROSSMAN, CALIFORNIA

Aubrey Grossman was identified as a Communist in sworn testimony before this committee on six different occasions. The Communist Party itself has publicized Mr. Grossman's role as one of its leaders and functionaries.

Grossman appeared as a witness before this committee on December 11, 1956, and refused to answer all questions concerning the Communist Party, basing his refusal on the protection of the fifth amendment.

With Richard Gladstein, he opened a law firm in San Francisco in 1936.

Grossman was defense attorney for Earl King in the King-Ramsay-Conner murder trial in the late 1930's. Sworn testimony before this committee showed that although King was an identified Communist, the principal reason for the Communist Party's interest in the case was that it gave the party an opportunity to ridicule and discredit the prosecuting attorney. A publicity campaign was launched which cost the party over \$16,000, raised by assessing members of the various trade-union movements. Despite this effort, the campaign failed.

By 1945 Lawyer Aubrey Grossman had achieved such stature within the party that he was given the position of educational director of the Communist Party for the city and county of San Francisco, and was appointed alternate delegate to the Communist Party convention in New York. This was a convention of 93 handpicked delegates who were obligated in advance to insist on the reconstitution of the Communist Party, previously known as the Communist Political Association, and the ouster of Earl Browder in conformity with the Duclos letter.

The Civil Rights Congress was founded in Detroit, in April 1946, under the direction of the Communist Party. It was created because the party's national committee felt there would be a need for a vital and strong "civil rights" organization to take care of party members who were likely to be implicated with the law as a result of the party's

new program, and which would have a large bail fund.<sup>28</sup> In 1948 a number of the Communist Party leaders were arrested and indicted. After they were released on bail posted by the Civil Rights Congress bail fund, they met at party headquarters and placed the responsibility upon the Civil Rights Congress to be the party's defense agency, to carry on the legal campaign and a mass campaign to mobilize public opinion in behalf of the indicted leaders.

Aubrey Grossman was appointed West Coast director of the Civil Rights Congress, and one of his first assignments was to coordinate the campaign to defend the 12 Communist leaders indicted on Smith Act violations.

In addition to coordinating the defense campaign for these Communist leaders who were dedicated to the overthrow of our Government, Lawyer Grossman was active in the propaganda campaign. Through the Communist press, he asked trade unions to adopt a resolution supporting the position of the Communist Party leaders in denouncing the witnesses for the Government, and to make the resolution known to Judge Medina.

The Daily People's World of August 19, 1949, published an article by Mr. Grossman in which he denounced the Government witnesses. He charged:

\* \* \* the common denominator of almost all important attacks on civil rights is the stool pigeon. For example, the Un-American committees, Federal and State; the deportation cases, the Christoffel and Bridges cases, the stream of witnesses who call the fight for Negro rights "a Communist plot"; the new phase of the Los Angeles grand jury inquisition, and finally, the New York trial of the Communist Party.

According to Mr. Grossman:

The Government is aiming at outlawing Marxism in this trial. Everybody knows that Marxism is a body of ideas, principles and a philosophy which has influenced world thought and world thinkers for more than 100 years. \* \* \* On what basis would the United States Government declare illegal this idea which is now so influential in the world? \* \* \* On the testimony of stool-pigeons.

After the Communist leaders were convicted and their attorneys punished for contempt of court, Grossman wrote another article in the Daily People's World praising the defense lawyers because they "fought courageously to expose the real issues and the picture began to emerge: the banker jury, the judge who was later to be rewarded by the administration \* \* \* and the bought-and-paid-for witnesses who were used by the Government with full knowledge of their corruption and their lies." He then attacked Judge Medina's reason for charging the lawyers with contempt: "This highfalutin language refers simply to an exposure of the jury system, by which final judgment as to the legality of the Communist Party and the ideas of socialism was vested in a blue-ribbon jury made up in large part by nominations from large corporations, from the social register, etc., and from which practically all workers were excluded. The jury system which the Foley Square lawyers carefully laid bare, shows up

<sup>28</sup> *Subversive Activities Control Board v. Civil Rights Congress*, Docket 106-53.

the political frameup of the trial and its class essence." Lawyer Grossman concluded his article by saying, "The program of disbarment and intimidation of lawyers has as its aim the denial of legal representation to political, labor, and Negro victims. \* \* \* The defense against the thought-control Smith and McCarran Acts \* \* \* will be immeasurably weakened without the assistance of tested and seasoned lawyer-veterans of the civil rights struggle."

These excerpts are just a small sample of the type of technical deception used by Aubrey Grossman to mobilize public opinion in behalf of the Communists.

Shortly after Grossman's appointment as Pacific Coast director of the Civil Rights Congress, the Daily People's World published an article entitled "If the Federal Bureau of Investigation Should Bother You \* \* \* Civil Rights Expert Tells What To Do." The "expert" in question was Aubrey Grossman, who advised those approached by FBI agents to refuse to cooperate or have any discussion with them. He concluded, "If you oppose witch hunting you should do nothing to cooperate with it, such a course is in the interest of the fight against witch hunts and in your own interest as well."

Mr. Grossman's work evidently pleased the party leaders and in 1950 he became the national organizational secretary of the Civil Rights Congress and assumed the still higher position of organizational director in 1951.

In testimony before the Subversive Activities Control Board,<sup>29</sup> a witness told of a secret Communist Party meeting in St. Louis, Mo., in 1951 which he attended and at which Aubrey Grossman, national Civil Rights Congress official and party functionary was present. According to the witness, Aubrey Grossman stated that he had come to St. Louis to guarantee the continued operation of the Civil Rights Congress because the party might not be able to continue operating as the Communist Party and planned, therefore, to function through the Civil Rights Congress. Mr. Grossman was also reported as stating that he and William Patterson were covering key cities to insure that the party would have a channel through which its operations could continue if, for security reasons, it could not operate in its own name.

In 1952 Julius and Ethel Rosenberg who had supplied Russia with our atomic secrets, were convicted of espionage and were awaiting execution in Sing Sing prison. Grossman went to the prison with a Civil Rights Congress delegation demanding clemency for the traitors.

In 1953 Grossman returned from New York to California. A month after his return he delivered a series of lectures concerning "McCarthyism" and recent "Supreme Court decisions" at the Communist California Labor School.

He reentered private law practice and became associated with the Edises and Treuhaff law firm; both of these law partners have been identified as Communists.

Aubrey Grossman's efforts in behalf of the Communist conspiracy and his defense of Communist ideology have been voluminous. He has supported such other phases of the movement as the Lawyers Committee To Keep the United States Out of War, an organization

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

set up by the Communist Party after the Stalin-Hitler pact in order to agitate to keep America out of the "imperialistic war"; the National Lawyers Guild; the Northern California Committee for Protection of Foreign Born; and the United May Day Committee.

#### ABRAHAM J. ISSERMAN, NEW JERSEY

Abraham J. Isserman was identified as a Communist and an attorney for the Communist Party in New Jersey in testimony before this committee. The identification was made on September 11, 1939, by Benjamin Gitlow, who had helped to organize the Communist Party in the United States and had served as its secretary general. In 1929 Gitlow was expelled from the party because he refused to accept Stalin's order to put William Z. Foster at the head of the American Communist Party.

During the Smith Act trial of the 11 United States Communist leaders in 1949, Abraham J. Isserman served as attorney for two of the party's top men, John Williamson, national trade union secretary, and Benjamin J. Davis.

Lawyer Isserman's actions at the trial showed a complete abandonment of all respect for the dignity of the court. His insults and mockery earned for him a conviction of contempt on 7 counts and a sentence of 4 months in jail.

After the trial, in a lecture to law students at Yale, this identified Communist and lawyer ridiculed the Government witnesses, lashing out at the role played by the "stool pigeons."

Abraham Isserman for many years has been a leading figure in Communist-front organizations.

He was counsel for the International Labor Defense. He was also a member of the resolutions committee of this organization, which was created by the Communist Party to act as the party's legal arm, and to furnish bail and legal representation to party members who became involved with legal authorities.

He was one of the founders of the International Juridical Association, the Communist-controlled offshoot of the International Labor Defense.

In June 1940, Mr. Isserman sponsored a "Conference on Constitutional Liberties in America." From this conference there emerged the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties. A. J. Isserman was appointed a member of the executive committee of this new Communist front. In September of the same year, as attorney for the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, he filed suit against the Commissioners of the District of Columbia because of police action in dispersing a mob gathered on the steps of the Supreme Court to protest against the conscription bill.

This gathering had been instigated by the American Peace Mobilization, another Communist-front organization formed in 1940 under the auspices of the Communist Party and the Young Communist League. It was designed to mold American public opinion against participation in the war against Germany. Its existence terminated within a month after the German invasion of Russia, when it became American People's Mobilization and adopted a program favoring complete assistance to Britain, Russia, and China.

From its very beginning, the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties vigorously opposed congressional committees investigating communism. In 1941, it published a pamphlet prepared by Mr. Isserman entitled "Investigation Committees and Civil Rights," in which the author voiced his opposition to such committees of Congress, in particular the House Committee on Un-American Activities. He advised his readers against any cooperation with the committees.

Mr. Isserman was still on the executive committee of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties in 1946 when it was merged into the Civil Rights Congress. He was a member of the organization committee of this latter Communist front at the time of its formation, and also diligently served the Civil Rights Congress both as an attorney and in its all-important bail-fund drives.

While Lawyer Isserman was busily engaged in the foundation and development of the legal fronts being established to protect Communist comrades, he was active in Communist propaganda fronts as well. Mr. Isserman was New Jersey State chairman of the American League Against War and Fascism, a Communist front established in an effort to create public sentiment on behalf of a foreign policy adapted to the interests of the Soviet Union. The name of this front was changed in 1937 to the American League for Peace and Democracy.

Mr. Isserman also held several offices in the latter Communist-front organization: member of the national committee, a member of the executive committee of the New York City division, and a member of the civil rights commission. The ALPD has also had the advantage of his services as a speaker.

He was a member of the executive committee of the Council for Pan American Democracy, a Communist front which defended Luis Carlos Prestes, a Brazilian Communist leader and former member of the executive committee of the Communist International.

This lawyer has delivered speeches at many social functions of the National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions, a Communist-front organization used to appeal to special occupational groups. In 1951, the organization held meetings to mobilize resistance against the House Un-American Activities Committee's hearings, scheduled on September 17 in Hollywood. In a speech before the ASP, Isserman stressed the need for activity in opposition to the Committee on Un-American Activities and in the movement for reversal of the Supreme Court decision upholding the Smith Act convictions of Communist leaders. He called for all-out support of an ASP mass meeting to be staged later in September, at which those questioned by the Committee on Un-American Activities would "fight back."

Abraham Isserman was disbarred from the practice of law in New Jersey by the supreme court of that State in 1951. He was also suspended from practice for 2 years in the Federal court in the southern district of New York. In 1952, the United States Supreme Court disbarred Isserman from practice before it. This decision was later reversed after the Court reasoned that Mr. Isserman had been punished sufficiently for his unprofessional conduct at the 1949 trial of the Communist leaders.

On January 29, 1958, Abraham Isserman was disbarred from practice in the Federal court in the southern district of New York. The disbarment was ordered on the petition of the Association of the Bar

of the City of New York and the New York County Lawyers Association because, in applying for admission to the bar, he had concealed a conviction for moral turpitude. The judge said in his ruling: "It can truthfully be said that he [Isserman] has perpetrated a fraud on every court to which we know he was admitted and his career shows an impudent disdain for all courts and an habitual disregard of the truth and of his professional duty of candor in his dealings with them."

#### LEON JOSEPHSON, NEW JERSEY

Leon Josephson was identified as having been a Communist and agent of Soviet Russia as far back as the late 1920's by Fred E. Beal, a former Communist, who testified before the committee on October 18, 1939, and again on March 21, 1947. Josephson was again identified on March 21, 1947, by Liston M. Oak, a former Communist who had served on the editorial staff of the Daily Worker.

The testimony before this committee disclosed that Leon Josephson, a native of Latvia, now a part of the Soviet Union, was educated in the United States and became a citizen in 1921. In the same year he was admitted to the bar in the State of New Jersey. Josephson began to practice law in Trenton, N. J. in 1926.

An attorney for the International Labor Defense, Josephson was one of the Communists sent by the party to Charlotte, N. C., in 1929 to try to guide the "defense" of seven men who were tried and convicted by the State of North Carolina for the murder of the chief of police at Gastonia. The death of the chief occurred during a strike of the Communist inspired and controlled union called the National Textile Workers.

Fred Beal, who was one of the seven defendants, informed this committee that Leon Josephson, although he did not take part in the trial itself, instructed each of the defendants on what they should say if they took the stand and emphasized that when they were being sworn they should refuse to say "So help me God." Josephson reasoned that it was "time now for the Southern workers to wake up and become educated," according to Mr. Beal.

The men were convicted and released on bail pending an appeal. Leon Josephson was then instrumental in securing money and false passports which enabled all seven defendants to jump bail and flee from the United States to Russia. Mr. Beal decided to face justice and returned to the United States. He testified that upon his return, Josephson tried to persuade him to go back to Russia. When Mr. Beal refused, he overheard Mr. Josephson say to Communist Party chairman William Z. Foster: "What we should have done to him was to have knocked him out over there in Soviet Russia, got rid of him once and for all, instead of having him over here." Mr. Beal further testified: "They [the Communist leaders] said it would be very bad for Soviet Russia if the people in this country found out that I returned to this country and was willing to go to prison."

Liston Oak testified that Josephson's job at the Gastonia trial was to induce the defense counsel to follow a "class struggle line," and to utilize the trial for Communist propaganda rather than merely to get the defendants acquitted. Testimony of Mr. Oak also revealed that while Josephson was practicing law in Trenton, N. J., he boasted that he was in a position to get valuable information from clients, including a railroad, to forward to the Kremlin.



In 1932 Josephson became an employee of Amtorg, the official Soviet purchasing agency here. He made frequent trips to Europe—during 1927, 1930, and 1931—and in 1935 he again embarked for Europe accompanied by George Mink, a particularly infamous Communist spy. On this trip he was arrested in Denmark and charged with espionage. Two of Josephson's companions, Mink and a man who had an American passport in the name of Nicholas Sherman, were also arrested. The 3 were brought to trial and Josephson was acquitted, the other 2 convicted. Mink later told Liston Oak that Josephson was acquitted because he was a lawyer. After he was released Josephson visited the American consulate and had an interview with Mr. Lester Maynard, the American consul general. A letter from Mr. Maynard concerning the interview states: "He [Josephson] stated that to him communism is more than a political theory or belief and is a religion. He stated that he is an atheist and a member of the active Communist Party in America and in its inner circles. \* \* \* He then explained to me his personal views in regard to the Communist movement, the pertinent part of which was that he considered the orders of his committee superior to the laws of the United States and that he would do anything 'short of murder' to carry out the committee's orders."

In 1937 an article written by Leon Josephson appeared in *The Communist*, a publication which was the official theoretical organ of the Communist Party of the United States. There, Leon Josephson openly proclaimed his dedication to the Communist conspiracy:

On this occasion of the celebration of 20 years of Soviet power, the magnificent constitution of the U. S. S. R. lights up for the American working masses the road that they, too, under the leadership of the Communist Party, must follow to defeat and end for all time crises, unemployment, reaction, and war—the road to Soviet America and its Socialist constitution.

Leon Josephson was subpoenaed by the Un-American Activities Committee to appear as a witness at hearings regarding Gerhart Eisler, chief international Communist representative in the United States. During the hearings considerable documentary evidence was presented to the committee which indicated that Leon Josephson wrote a passport application in the name of one Samuel Liptzen, but which bore the photograph of Gerhart Eisler and was subsequently used by Eisler in his travels in the service of the international Communist conspiracy.

Josephson appeared before the committee on March 5, 1947, refused to be sworn, and refused to give testimony.

The following day the *Daily Worker* issued a statement by Josephson in which he declared: "I am a Communist. \* \* \* I am not ashamed of what I did; on the contrary, I am proud of it." On July 17, 1947, Josephson appeared as a witness at Gerhart Eisler's trial for contempt of Congress and admitted that he helped Eisler get an American passport to enable him to travel to Germany. When asked by the prosecuting attorney if he had sworn falsely on the 1934 passport application for Eisler's use, Josephson said, "I swore falsely and I would do so again." Josephson himself was subsequently convicted of contempt of Congress and served a prison sentence as a result.

Upon his release from prison January 16, 1949, the *Daily Worker* reported that Josephson said, "I have a greater will to fight than ever

before." Josephson told John Williamson, John Gates, Henry Winston, Jack Stachel, and other Communist leaders under Smith Act indictments, who had come to LaGuardia Airport to greet him, "I'll be with you in court in the morning to help your fight for freedom."

One of Josephson's first commitments after his release from prison was to speak at a rally sponsored by the New Jersey Communist Party. In April the Worker and People's World published an article by him entitled "Legal Fact—and Fiction." The caption read: "Is there such a thing as an impartial jury? An impartial judge? Here is an attorney's answer \* \* \*." Josephson in the article attempted to prove that it was impossible for a judge or jurors to be unbiased, and therefore impossible for the 11 Communist leaders to have a fair trial. Josephson further charged that "Judge Medina's resort to the use of legal fictions in the trial of the 11 Communists has infected that trial with the 'principles of rottenness'."

In July 1949 Josephson wrote an article in the Daily Worker titled "True Justice Is Weeping," in which he discussed the trial of Carl Marzani, for lying about his Communist affiliations when he applied for a Government position. Josephson claimed Marzani was being tried because of Marzani's opposition to "big business."

Lawyer Leon Josephson was scheduled to analyze the McCarran Act at a conference of the New York State Civil Rights Congress in October 1950. The conference was held to plan a nationwide campaign to demand the repeal of the McCarran Act, coinciding with the reconvening of Congress. Josephson, through a letter in the Daily Worker, made an appeal for volunteers to help "get out the mail" in the "McCarran law fight."

Josephson gave a series of lectures on Marxism and the Law at the Jefferson School in 1949 and 1950. In October 1949, he also wrote an article in the Daily Worker on the subject, "Justice Is Dollar Made—Marxism-Leninism on Trial," in which he said:

The democratic principle, the greatest good for the greatest number, is the very essence of the ethics of Marxism-Leninism. This principle can only flourish when—the individual liberty of the capitalist is denied \* \* \*

The idea that our Government impartially represents all of the people is pure fiction \* \* \*

Prejudice and bias sit alongside of almost every robed figure on the bench. Impartiality of the law is pure fiction.

In 1954 Josephson taught a Jefferson School course on "Soviet Life," in which he "evaluated" current anti-Soviet propaganda in the light of actual developments in the U. S. S. R. He also gave a course on Soviet law for laymen in which he interpreted Soviet law regarding the family, housing, labor, crime, and punishment.

In October 1953 Josephson invoked the fifth amendment as a witness before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee.

In the May 1957 issue of Mainstream, a Communist publication, Leon Josephson wrote an article on "The Individual in Soviet Law," in which he set out to show the superiority of Soviet justice with a series of quotations from the Soviet Criminal Code. He interpreted the terror of the Stalin era as being necessary because of the threat "from a foreign power which ringed the Soviet Union with military



bases and threatened to annihilate her with the atom bomb." After a comparison of American laws with those of the Soviet he wrote: "In brief, the average Soviet citizen has all the protection our law affords, and then some." Josephson concluded his article with, "Certainly the Soviet Union has made mistakes, but whatever the mistakes, however it may lag behind our original hopes or our personal opinions as to how things should be done, the Russian Socialist Revolution proved to be the greatest step forward in the evolution of mankind."

A letter to the editor in the September 1957 issue of *Mainstream* asked Mr. Josephson about the justice of Soviet law concerning political offenses, to which Mr. Josephson replied, "If I attempted to undermine or overthrow the Soviet state, I would deserve the merited fate of all enemies of the people. \* \* \* Political activity against an exploiter state in the interest of the vast majority of the people is both democratic and moral; action against a Socialist state \* \* \* is anti-democratic and immoral."

Such is the philosophy of Leon Josephson, LL. B., member of the bar of the State of New Jersey.

#### HARRY M. JUSTIZ, NEW YORK

Harry M. Justiz was identified as a member of the Communist Party on February 21, 1950, by Matthew Cvetec, former undercover agent for the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Justiz had appeared as a witness before this committee in 1946. As a member of the executive board of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, he was served with a subpoena duces tecum and ordered to produce certain records of this Communist-front organization engaged in the defense, transportation, and support of foreign Communist agents. Lawyer Justiz refused to honor the subpoena; therefore, he was cited for, and convicted of, contempt of Congress, fined \$500, and sentenced to 3 months in jail.

Mr. Justiz has supported many Communist-front organizations specializing in the defense of Communist cases, including the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties and the National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights, a protective organization built by the Communists during the days of the Soviet-Nazi pact.

He was also a supporter of the Lawyers Committee To Keep the United States Out of War and the Emergency Peace Mobilization during this same Hitler-Stalin pact period. He was a member of the International Workers Order; on the executive board of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee and the American Slav Congress of Greater New York, a Moscow-inspired and directed federation of Communist-dominated organizations seeking by methods of propaganda and pressure to subvert the 10 million people in this country of Slavic birth or descent. Justiz was a member of the auditing committee of the American Association for Reconstruction in Yugoslavia, Inc. This organization was a Communist front whose functions were designed to victimize Slavic Americans for Communist purposes. Harry Justiz was also a member of the subversive and Communist-controlled United Committee of South Slavic Americans, and on the board of directors of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born. He served as counsel for the New York chapter of the Yugoslav Committee for Protection of Foreign Born.

## CHARLES J. KATZ, CALIFORNIA

Charles Katz was identified as a member of a Communist lawyers' group in Los Angeles by former Communists A. Marburg Yerkes on January 24, 1952; Milton S. Tyre on December 14, 1951; and William G. Israel on January 25, 1952, in testimony before the Committee on Un-American Activities. Mr. Katz was also identified as a member of the Communist Party by Martin Berkeley in testimony before this committee on September 19, 1951.

Charles J. Katz appeared before this committee on October 1, 1952, and stated that he had been a member of the legal profession for a quarter of a century in Los Angeles. However, he refused to state whether he was then, or ever had been, a member of the Communist Party, invoking the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. Katz was one of 11 Los Angeles lawyers who signed a brief as friend of the court in asking a judge to throw out charges against Henry Steinberg, legislative director of the Los Angeles County Communist Party, after he was arrested in 1950 for failure to comply with a Los Angeles County ordinance requiring the registration of Communists.

Mr. Katz was a member, in 1937, of the committee on civil rights and liberties of the National Lawyers Guild. Mr. Katz was also on the convention resolutions committee and a participant in the discussion of "The Right to Strike and Compulsory Arbitration" at the fifth annual convention of the National Lawyers Guild in 1941.

Charles Katz was a member of the executive council of the Hollywood Independent Citizens' Committee of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions, a Communist front.

Mr. Katz was a scheduled speaker at a concert in 1946 celebrating the opening of the Los Angeles convention of the Jewish Peoples Fraternal Order and reception for Albert E. Kahn, national president of JPFO. The JPFO has been cited as Communist and among the "national group societies of International Workers Order." Mr. Katz was a member of the California sponsoring committee, southern division, of the Harry Bridges Defense Committee. The Bridges Defense Committee was cited as a Communist front formed to oppose deportation of Harry Bridges, Communist Party member and leader of the disastrous San Francisco general strike of 1934 which was planned by the Communist Party.

## SEYMOUR MANDEL, CALIFORNIA

Seymour Mandel was identified as a member of the Communist Party by former Communist Party members, Milton S. Tyre on December 14, 1951; David Aaron on January 23, 1952; A. Marburg Yerkes on January 24, 1952, and William G. Israel on January 25, 1952, when they testified before the Committee on Un-American Activities. David Aaron also testified that at one time Seymour Mandel was executive secretary of the National Lawyers Guild chapter in Los Angeles.

Mr. Mandel appeared as a witness before this committee on October 1, 1952, at which time he invoked the fifth amendment when questioned concerning his Communist Party membership and affiliations.

Seymour Mandel, as an attorney for the Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, represented several individuals sub-

ject to deportation proceedings on the grounds that they were aliens who had become members of the Communist Party after their entry into the country. An emergency mass meeting was held on May 28, 1953, to protest the Immigration Service's detention of these and five other deportees on Terminal Island. Seymour Mandel was the principal speaker at this meeting, sponsored by the Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born.

The West Coast Communist newspaper, the Daily People's World, on July 17, 1950, described Seymour Mandel as a Civil Rights Congress panel lawyer.

#### BEN MARGOLIS, CALIFORNIA

The following former Communists appeared before this committee and identified Ben Margolis as a member of the Communist Party: Edward Dmytryk, April 25, 1951; David Aaron, January 23, 1952; A. Marburg Yerkes, January 24, 1952; William G. Israel, January 25, 1952; and Paul Marion on October 2, 1952. The law firm of Katz, Gallagher & Margolis served as legal representative of the Communist Party according to the testimony of Yerkes. Mr. Margolis testified before this committee in Los Angeles, Calif., on September 30, 1952, at which time he invoked the fifth amendment when questioned about his past and present membership in the Communist Party.

Ben Margolis offers an example of the subtle way in which a Communist lawyer can prevail upon fellow members of the bar to become a part of the Communist conspiracy. Because he was impressed with Ben Margolis' reputation in connection with a certain legal case, Mr. Yerkes testified that at the invitation of Margolis he joined the latter's law firm. Yerkes said it wasn't long before Margolis invited Yerkes to a Marxist discussion meeting attended by lawyers, and that he continued to attend these meetings of lawyers because Margolis wanted him to. These so-called study groups inevitably led Yerkes into actually joining the Communist Party.

Ben Margolis was the keynote speaker at a conference on anti-Semitism in the United States, held in 1951 and sponsored by the Communist front, the Jewish Peoples Fraternal Order.

Mr. Margolis, as the attorney for Local 26 of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, was introduced at the seventh convention of Local 26 held in Los Angeles in 1956. The longshoremen's union was expelled from the CIO in 1950 for its adherence to the Communist Party line.

Ben Margolis was also a sponsor of the Los Angeles chapter of the Civil Rights Congress in 1947; a participant in a reception sponsored by the CRC in November of 1947; and chairman of a Labor Day meeting in 1950 sponsored by the CRC at which national Communist official Elizabeth Gurley Flynn was a speaker. Margolis, along with Mrs. Oleta O'Connor Yates, Communist Party State committeewoman, was a scheduled speaker at a meeting sponsored by the CRC in 1951, and he was chief speaker in defense of arrested Communist leaders at another meeting sponsored by the CRC in 1951. He was scheduled to speak at a meeting sponsored by the CRC in March of 1954, on "harboring case victims" and Californians convicted of violating the Smith Act. He was also scheduled to be a main speaker

at a reception honoring Shirley Kremen, a defendant in the California Smith Act harboring case, sponsored by the CRC in July of 1954.

As a member of the National Lawyers Guild, Margolis was the treasurer of its San Francisco chapter in 1937. He was a reporter on "Effect of Conscription on Economic Status of Lawyers" at a discussion entitled "The Economic Welfare of the Legal Profession," at the fifth annual national convention of the NLG in 1941 and he was a member of the resolutions committee of the 20th anniversary national convention of the NLG in 1957.

Ben Margolis was a faculty member of the People's Educational Center in 1944 and 1946.

Mr. Margolis was a member-at-large candidate for the executive board of the National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions, Southern California Chapter, and in 1955, he was a speaker at a "Cultural 'Salute'" honoring the 61st birthday of John Howard Lawson sponsored by the same organization.

Ben Margolis was to speak at a testimonial dinner on October 5, 1952, sponsored by the Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born; in 1954, Mr. Margolis was a sponsor of a party honoring the 50th birthday of Mrs. Rose Chernin, director of the Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born.

Ben Margolis was a speaker at a meeting in 1952 sponsored by the Trade Union Committee for Repeal of the Smith Act and Other Anti-labor Legislation. The Trade Union Committee for the Repeal of the Smith Act was cited as a front "to defend the cases of Communist lawbreakers."

The Southern California Peace Crusade sponsored a testimonial dinner honoring Dr. W. E. B. DuBois in Los Angeles in 1953. Mr. Margolis was to speak at this dinner. This committee has found that these misnamed "peace" organizations have a common objective: The dissemination of Communist propaganda aimed at discrediting the United States and promoting a dangerous relaxation in the ideological and military strength of our country.

Mr. Margolis was an endorser of the World Peace Appeal which was launched 3 months before the outbreak of Communist armed aggression against South Korea as a smokescreen for such aggression.

Ben Margolis signed a motion asking the United States Supreme Court for permission to file an amicus curiae brief in support of a rehearing for the six Baltimore Smith Act defendants; he also signed the brief.

Mr. Margolis was one of 99 "prominent Americans" listed as "additional signers" of an appeal asking the Subversive Activities Control Board to suspend hearings on the Communist nature of the California Labor School. Delay was asked pending Supreme Court ruling on the constitutionality of the Internal Security Act.

Mr. Margolis was scheduled to speak in December 1952 at a campaign dinner sponsored by the Independent Progressive Party of Los Angeles.

Ben Margolis sent greetings to the Daily People's World for the period of 1950 through 1958. He was scheduled to share the platform with Rockwell Kent at a testimonial to be given in Mr. Kent's honor, September 15, 1957, in San Francisco. Proceeds from the testimonial went to sustain the People's World.

**JOHN T. McTERNAN, CALIFORNIA**

David Aaron appeared before this committee in Washington, D. C., on January 23, 1952, and testified there was a lawyers' group of the Communist Party in Los Angeles, called the Engels Club, of which John McTernan was a member. A. Marburg Yerkes and William G. Israel also identified Mr. McTernan as a member of the Communist Party lawyers' group in testimony before this committee in 1952.

John T. McTernan invoked the fifth amendment regarding Communist Party membership when he testified before this committee in Los Angeles on April 21, 1956.

John T. McTernan was a member of the executive board of the National Lawyers Guild in 1949, 1950, and was again elected as a Los Angeles member of the board at the 1956 and 1957 national conventions. Mr. McTernan was among those scheduled to speak at panel meetings during the National Lawyers Guild's 20th anniversary convention in February 1957. At the same convention, he was also a reporter for the afternoon session of the panel conference on civil rights and liberties, and due process of law.

He was among the sponsors of a dinner held in Los Angeles in 1951 at which William L. Patterson, national executive secretary of the Civil Rights Congress under indictment for contempt, was an honored guest. The dinner was advertised as "part of a nationwide drive to raise \$60,000 for Civil Rights Congress to continue its defense of the courageous people victimized by the Smith and McCarran Acts." Mr. McTernan was scheduled to speak at a Civil Rights Congress meeting in May 1951. He was also a speaker at a rally held August 1955, at which action was taken to circulate a friend of the court brief in behalf of Steve Nelson.

The lawyer was at the speakers table of a dinner held in September 1949, to raise funds for defense of 11 national Communist leaders tried under the Smith Act. John McTernan submitted a brief signed by various West Coast lawyers in 1949 to the circuit court of appeals to void the contempt convictions of the lawyers who defended the "11."

John T. McTernan annually sent greetings to the Daily People's World from 1951 through 1957.

**JOHN W. PORTER, CALIFORNIA**

John W. Porter was identified as a member of the Communist Party in Los Angeles in the 1940's by several witnesses testifying before the Committee on Un-American Activities during the committee's investigation of Communist activities among professional groups in Los Angeles in 1952. He was further identified in 1955 by Herbert Fuchs, who testified that John Porter had also been a member of a Communist cell of lawyers in Washington, D. C., while Mr. Porter was employed by the National Labor Relations Board in the late thirties. In 1956 Anita Schneider, former undercover agent for the Federal Bureau of Investigation, testified under oath that she knew Mr. Porter to be a member of the Communist Party.

Mrs. Schneider, a resident of San Diego, recalled that John Porter had telephoned her from Los Angeles in the fall of 1951 and asked

her to interview a Communist Party member in her area, Carmen Edwards, who was facing deportation. Porter directed her to submit a report to him through regular party channels.

Mr. Porter was a witness before the committee on two occasions. In 1952 during questioning, he verified the fact that he had been a lawyer since 1935, when he immediately obtained Government employment in Washington, D. C., in the Office of the Solicitor of the Department of Labor. Later he worked for the National Labor Relations Board; he left the board in 1938 and obtained employment as a lawyer in the Antitrust Division of the Department of Justice. He also worked for the Office of Price Administration and the National War Labor Board. He has not been in Government service since 1945.

When questioned about his Communist affiliations he invoked the fifth amendment and charged the committee with using the "big lie of the menace of communism as a smokescreen behind which and by means of which to terrorize good Americans into closing their mouths and failing to speak up on the crucial issues of the day."

John W. Porter was a witness before the committee again in 1956. He once more invoked the fifth amendment concerning his Communist activities, questioned the duty and the jurisdiction of the committee, and the validity of the resolution under which the committee operates.

John Porter, the records show, headed the legal panel of the Communist-front organization, the Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born. Outside the courts, Mr. Porter has also been active for the Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born. In 1952, with Rose Chernin, executive secretary of the committee, he attended the National Conference To Defend the Rights of Foreign Born Americans. It was sponsored by the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born and held in Detroit. The call announcing the conference stated that the purpose of this conference was to mobilize organizations "for the repeal of the Walter-McCarran law." After their return to Los Angeles, Mr. Porter was scheduled to address a meeting of the Los Angeles affiliate and give a full report of the Detroit conference.

Other Communist fronts which have had Mr. Porter's support are the National Lawyers Guild, of which he has been a member since at least 1940, when he was employed by the Federal Government in Washington, D. C. The Civil Rights Congress has had his services as a speaker. The records of this committee show that in 1954, John W. Porter traveled to San Diego to speak at a Civil Rights Congress meeting against anti-Communist legislation, primarily the Brownell-Butler and Walter-McCarran laws.

In 1948 he urged dismissal of Smith Act charges against the top national Communist leaders, and signed an appeal in their behalf. In 1950 he was a member of a delegation which visited the Los Angeles director of immigration and demanded the release on bail of individuals facing deportation under the McCarran law as a result of Communist activities. In 1953 he signed a motion asking the United States Supreme Court for permission to file a brief for a rehearing for the Baltimore Smith Act defendants; he also signed the brief. In 1954 he urged President Eisenhower to grant amnesty to the Communist leaders convicted under the Smith Act.



## DAVID REIN, WASHINGTON, D. C.

David Rein was identified as a member of the Communist Party by Herbert Fuchs and Mortimer Riemer, both former Communists, in testimony before this committee on December 13, 1955, and December 14, 1955, respectively.

Professor Fuchs testified that Rein was a member of a Communist cell of lawyers operating within the National Labor Relations Board where both men were employed as lawyers in the late 30's and early 40's.

Mortimer Riemer testified that he too knew David Rein in the cell of lawyers at the National Labor Relations Board and further testified that Rein in 1943 had tried to reenlist him in the Communist Party after Riemer had decided that communism was not for him.

David Rein appeared as a witness before this committee on February 21, 1956. When he was questioned by the committee concerning his Communist Party membership he refused to answer, basing his refusal on his constitutional privileges, including the fifth amendment.

After finishing law school in 1935, Mr. Rein held a series of jobs with the New York City Charter Commission, the Puerto Rico Reconstruction Administration, and a Committee To Revise the Constitution of New York State. In 1938 David Rein started to work for the National Labor Relations Board in Washington, D. C., as an attorney. In 1942 he transferred to the legal division of the Office of Price Administration. In 1945, after service in the Marine Corps, he returned to work at the National Labor Relations Board. In 1946 he went into private law practice.

David Rein was retained by the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born to defend various aliens facing deportation because of their Communist activities. In 1956, prior to a Supreme Court hearing on one of these deportation cases, the ACPFB gave a testimonial dinner in honor of David Rein and his law partner. Alec Jones, campaign and educational director of the ACPFB, gave the testimonial speech in which he praised both attorneys and noted that "without their knowledge, guidance, and devotion our cause may well have been set back. \* \* \* There is no way to truly assess the role they have played in our work. \* \* \* If it were not for [them] \* \* \*, we would be lost down there [in Washington]."

Rein has been a member of the National Lawyers Guild since 1938. In 1940 he was a candidate for delegate to the national convention of the guild. He was elected secretary of the Washington, D. C., chapter in 1946 and in 1949 was elected to the guild's national executive board. He was still a member of the board in 1957.

Other Communist fronts in which David Rein has been active are the Washington Book Shop, the Washington Committee for Democratic Action, and the American League for Peace and Democracy. He was a sponsor of the National Nonpartisan Committee to Defend the Rights of the Twelve Communist Leaders.

In opposition to anti-Communist legislation, Mr. Rein has been quite vocal. He was one of those who signed a statement against the Mundt anti-Communist bill in 1948. In a speech before the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born he condemned "the notorious 'Smith Act' as a repressive measure against foreign born \* \* \* which was passed by Congress \* \* \* without any consideration of really what it meant or what it implied."

## ALLAN R. ROSENBERG, MASSACHUSETTS

Herbert Fuchs testified before this committee on December 13, 1955, that Allan R. Rosenberg had assisted him in the organization of a Communist cell comprised of employees of the National Labor Relations Board in 1937. Mr. Rosenberg was employed in the Review Division of the National Labor Relations Board from 1937 until 1941 as a lawyer and as an assistant to the Secretary.

Allan R. Rosenberg was identified as a Communist before this committee on July 31, 1948, by Elizabeth T. Bentley. In her testimony Miss Bentley, who served as courier between Soviet agents and Communist employees of the Federal Government in the early 1940's, accused Allan Rosenberg of having been a member of the so-called "Perlo group" during the years 1941-45 while employed in the General Counsel's office of the Foreign Economic Administration, formerly the Board of Economic Warfare. The Victor Perlo group, according to Miss Bentley, was a Communist underground group operating in the Federal Government from the early thirties which had been collecting information for the benefit of the Soviet Union for some years.

Allan R. Rosenberg testified before this committee on June 23, 1952, and again on February 21, 1956. Although admitting he had been employed by the National Labor Relations Board and the Foreign Economic Administration, Allan Rosenberg invoked the fifth amendment when he was questioned concerning Communist Party membership. Mr. Rosenberg resigned his Government post in 1945 to enter private law practice.

According to his testimony before this committee, Allan Rosenberg joined the National Lawyers Guild in 1936. Mr. Rosenberg testified that he was the treasurer of the District of Columbia chapter of the National Lawyers Guild during the late thirties or the early forties. Allan Rosenberg was elected a member-at-large of the executive board of the National Lawyers Guild by the 1956 and 1957 guild conventions.

## ROSE S. ROSENBERG, CALIFORNIA

Rose S. Rosenberg was identified as a member of the Communist Party by former Communist Party members, Milton S. Tyre on December 14, 1951, and A. Marburg Yerkes on January 24, 1952, when they testified before this committee on those dates. Both Mr. Tyre and Mr. Yerkes testified that they had known Mrs. Rosenberg as a member of a Communist lawyers' group in Los Angeles.

Rose S. Rosenberg testified before this committee on October 1, 1952, at which time she invoked the fifth amendment in refusing to answer questions concerning her Communist Party membership.

Mrs. Rosenberg was retained by the Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born as defense attorney for more than half a dozen aliens subject to deportation proceedings between 1950 and 1954 under the Walter-McCarran Act as a result of Communist Party activities.

In December 1955, Abner Green, executive secretary of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, sought Mrs. Rosenberg's assistance in securing for him material which could be used in connection with the appearance of a witness before the Subversive



Activities Control Board in behalf of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born. The witness in question was active in the Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born.

Protesting a local Communist registration ordinance, Rose S. Rosenberg submitted a brief to a justice of the peace in El Monte, Calif., during October 1950.

During September 1951, Rose S. Rosenberg joined in signing an appeal which appeared in the Los Angeles Times urging that reasonable bail be granted 15 California Smith Act defendants.

During February 1953, Rose S. Rosenberg was one of the signers of the motion asking the United States Supreme Court for permission to file an amicus curiae brief in support of a rehearing for the Baltimore Smith Act defendants.

Rose S. Rosenberg during January 1951 sponsored the National Women's Appeal for the Rights of Foreign-Born Americans, an affiliate of the Communist-controlled American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born. The National Women's Appeal had been organized to defend 28 women who had been arrested in deportation proceedings.

Mrs. Rosenberg was 1 of 55 women who signed an open letter to President Truman requesting him to call a halt to McCarran Law deportation proceedings. A delegation of women presented the letter to the President's secretary in May 1951. The women came to Washington under the auspices of the National Women's Appeal for the Rights of Foreign-Born Americans.

Rose S. Rosenberg spoke at a meeting sponsored by the Communist front, the Ethel Linn Defense Committee for the Repeal of the McCarran-Walter Act, during November 1953. This meeting was to protest the deportation of identified Communist Ethel Linn and to hear a discussion of the McCarran-Walter Act under which she was arrested.

Mrs. Rosenberg addressed a meeting during March 1954 which was sponsored by the Los Angeles Rosenberg-Sobell Committee on the legal implications of the Julius and Ethel Rosenberg atomic espionage case.

Rose S. Rosenberg was honored at a Mother's Day testimonial for peace during May 1954, sponsored by the Southern California Peace Crusade.

During the years 1951 and 1952, Mrs. Rosenberg sent Labor Day and May Day greetings to the Daily People's World.

#### SAMUEL ROSENWEIN, CALIFORNIA

Samuel Rosenwein was identified as a member of the Communist Party before this committee on January 24, 1952, by A. Marburg Yerkes, a former member of the Communist Party. Mr. Yerkes stated in his testimony that he knew Mr. Rosenwein as a member of a Communist lawyers' group in Los Angeles.

Mr. Rosenwein was publicized as being chief counsel for the subversive Civil Rights Congress during 1947 and 1948. As chief counsel for this front organization, he prepared a lengthy legal analysis, attacking the proposed Mundt anti-Communist bill, which was circulated by the Civil Rights Congress to Members of Congress in May 1948. A Civil Rights Congress open letter accompanying Mr. Rosen-

wein's analysis urged Congressmen "to not only vote against, but to speak against" the bill.

Mr. Rosenwein was one of the attorneys retained by the Civil Rights Congress to defend an identified Communist convicted of contempt of Congress in 1947.

During May 1948, Mr. Rosenwein spoke at a rally for "peace" which was sponsored by the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, a Communist front.

During 1949, Samuel Rosenwein was chairman of the civil liberties committee of the National Lawyers Guild.

Mr. Rosenwein was the author of an article which appeared in the spring, 1949 issue of the Lawyers Guild Review.

#### RICHARD L. RYKOFF, CALIFORNIA

Richard Rykoff, who has been engaged in private law practice in Los Angeles for more than 10 years, joined a special lawyers' group of the Communist Party in Los Angeles in 1948, according to a former member of the party group, David Aaron, who testified before this committee on January 23, 1952.

Anita Schneider, who entered the Communist Party in southern California as an undercover agent in 1951, also had extensive contacts with Lawyer Rykoff within the party, according to her testimony on July 5 and 6, 1955.

The lawyer invoked the fifth amendment, however, rather than answer questions regarding Communist Party membership when he was subpoenaed as a witness before the committee on October 1, 1952.

Mrs. Schneider, who was active in the party and its front organizations in the San Diego area, testified that the party had instructed its Civil Rights Congress in the early 1950's to develop a campaign in defense of Emory Collier, a San Diego man involved with the law. Mrs. Schneider said the Communist Party did not concern itself with the innocence or guilt of the man, because the case was undertaken only to propagandize for the party. She said that she and other Communists in San Diego met with Los Angeles Lawyer Rykoff and received instructions from him on what steps to take in order to conceal the real Communist purpose of the Collier campaign.

Party member Schneider was once considered as a possible delegate to an international Communist "peace" conference in Stockholm from which it was planned she would also make a trip to the Soviet Union. In discussing with Mr. Rykoff the problem of applying for a passport in the light of State Department restrictions on travel behind the Iron Curtain, Mrs. Schneider testified that the lawyer advised her to conceal her real destination from the State Department in filling out a passport application even though she would be required to swear to the truthfulness of the information.

Mrs. Schneider again contacted Mr. Rykoff in 1953 for suggestions for films to be shown by a Communist-operated film club in San Diego. Her testimony and correspondence produced for the record disclosed that the lawyer recommended the film "Salt of the Earth," then being produced under the sponsorship of the Communist-dominated Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers Union and under the direction of identified Communist Herbert Biberman. At Mr. Rykoff's suggestion, Biberman subsequently approached Mrs. Schneider with a proposal that she

help raise \$20,000 in loans in San Diego for the purpose of completing production of the film.

The Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born retained Mr. Rykoff in 1955 for the purpose of defending an alien subject to deportation proceedings on the basis of membership in the Communist Party.

Richard Rykoff was one of the signers of a motion in 1953 asking the United States Supreme Court for permission to file a brief for a rehearing for Baltimore, Md., Communist leaders convicted under the Smith Act.

The Civil Rights Congress listed Mr. Rykoff as one of the financial contributors to its published booklet, "Civil Rights Congress Tells the Story."

#### HARRY SACHER, NEW YORK

Harry Sacher was first identified as a member of the Communist Party by Thomas H. O'Shea, former Communist who was the first president of the Transport Workers Union. O'Shea testified on April 23, 1940, before the Special Committee on Un-American Activities that in the 1930's he was in frequent contact with Harry Sacher, who was an attorney for the Transport Workers Union.

Mortimer Riemer, in testimony before this committee on December 14, 1955, also identified Harry Sacher as a member of the Communist Party.

In 1953 in hearings before the Subversive Activities Control Board, Louis Budenz testified that he knew Sacher to be a member of the Communist Party in the 1940's.

Harry Sacher appeared before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee on April 19, 1955, at which time he refused to answer questions concerning present or past membership in the Communist Party, invoking the first amendment. He was subsequently convicted in the courts for contempt of Congress as a result of his appearance before the Senate subcommittee. The United States Supreme Court in 1957 reversed the conviction and referred the case back to a lower court for reconsideration in the light of the Watkins decision. In 1958 the United States court of appeals in Washington, in reconsidering the case, upheld the contempt of Congress conviction against him.

The records of the committee show that Mr. Sacher was not only attorney for the Transport Workers Union in the 1930's but held the post of general counsel to the international union throughout most of the 1940's. The Special Committee on Un-American Activities found in 1944 that the Transport Workers Union was among those unions having Communist leadership "strongly entrenched." In a 1951 report, the committee noted that the Transport Workers Union was among unions which since "tried to clean out the Communists from their unions."

The executive board of Local 100 of the Transport Workers Union of America, CIO, voted in September 1948 to dismiss Harry Sacher, its counsel for 14 years. The international president of the union, Michael J. Quill, who later that year succeeded in getting Mr. Sacher ousted from his position as general counsel for the international union, declared that the "purge" of leftwing elements would offer the Transport Workers Union its first opportunity "to operate as a natural trade union." He also contended it was "plain" that Mr.

Sacher was working with the Communistic bloc and that there was little use in "trying to appease him."

Mr. Sacher was defense counsel for John Gates, editor of the Daily Worker, when Mr. Gates was tried with 10 other national Communist Party leaders under the Smith Act in 1949 for advocating overthrow of the Government by force and violence. In the course of this trial, Sacher's insults and mockery of the court earned for him a conviction of contempt of court for which he served a jail sentence. Because of his conduct in the courtroom during this trial, two bar associations brought motions to have Harry Sacher disbarred. The case went before Federal Judge Harold G. Hincks of New Haven, Conn.

One of the items in Sacher's conduct considered by Judge Hincks was Sacher's assertion that United States Attorney Francis McGohey, if he had been a prosecutor in the early Christian era "would have Jesus in the dock."

In his decision disbaring Sacher, Judge Hincks ruled, "The assertion \* \* \* was so improper as to be atrocious. The incident \* \* \* is crowning proof of the fact that Mr. Sacher is skilled \* \* \* in the art of inflammation \* \* \* he cannot safely be left as a member of this bar."

Harry Sacher was disbarred for life from the practice of law in 1951. In 1954, the decision was reversed by the Supreme Court.

Mr. Sacher's talents were utilized by the Communist Party in many of its fronts.

Mr. Sacher lectured at the Communist Workers School in New York during March and April 1938.

Mr. Sacher was a member of the Lawyers Committee on American Relations with Spain and was a speaker, in March 1938, at its first public meeting. The Special Committee on Un-American Activities in 1944 said of this lawyers committee: "When it was the policy of the Communist Party to organize much of its main propaganda around the civil war in Spain," the above "Communist lawyers' front organization" supported this movement.

Harry Sacher was one of 63 lawyers, members of the Lawyers' Committee To Keep the United States Out of War, who drew up a resolution against conscription sent by telegram to the House Military Affairs Committee during September 1940.

Mr. Sacher was a member of the executive committee, New York City division of the American League for Peace and Democracy in the period 1939-40.

Mr. Sacher, in 1941, was one of the signers of a statement urging the President and Congress to defend the rights of the Communist Party.

Mr. Sacher was a guest lecturer in 1942 at the School for Democracy, which later merged with the Workers School into the Jefferson School of Social Science.

Mr. Sacher has held the following National Lawyers Guild offices: member of committee on constitution and judicial review, 1937; member, committee on labor law and social legislation, 1937; director ex officio, 1940; member, convention resolutions committee, fifth annual convention, 1941, at which he also participated in a discussion entitled "The Right to Strike and Compulsory Arbitration"; member of the national executive board in 1949, 1950, 1956, and 1957. He was elected

voting member of the board of directors for 1953-54 at the annual meeting of the guild's New York City chapter and again elected to the board of directors for the New York City chapter for 1955, 1957, and 1958.

Harry Sacher was one of the scheduled speakers on the subject of "Labor and the Taft-Hartley Law" at a conference sponsored by the Jefferson School of Social Science in 1947. Mr. Sacher, in 1948, was again a speaker for the school when it sponsored a forum on "Civil Rights in America." During the years 1944 through 1950, Mr. Sacher was a member of the board of trustees of the Jefferson School.

Mr. Sacher was a sponsor of a National Civil Rights Legislative Conference of the Civil Rights Congress in 1949. He was also a speaker for this organization on various other occasions. Harry Sacher and Abraham Isserman, who faced prison for contempt of court as a result of their conduct in the defense of the jailed Communist leaders, were among the "distinguished guests" introduced at the sixth anniversary dinner of the Civil Rights Congress in 1952.

The National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions honored Harry Sacher at a reception in 1951. Mr. Sacher was scheduled to speak at a mass meeting on civil liberties held in 1952 and sponsored by the ASP. He was also scheduled to speak at a meeting sponsored by the New York Council of the ASP in 1952.

Harry Sacher was a scheduled speaker at a rally to repeal the Smith Act in 1951. In 1952, the Painters Committee To Defend Louis Weinstock and To Repeal the Smith Act scheduled Mr. Sacher to speak at one of its meetings. Harry Sacher spoke at a rally sponsored by the American Labor Party in May 1954 arranged to urge Congress to "stop McCarthyism."

#### HYMAN SCHLESINGER, PENNSYLVANIA

Matthew Cvetic, appearing before this committee on February 22, 1950, testified that Hyman Schlesinger was a lawyer in Pittsburgh who was also a member of the Communist Party. Mr. Cvetic said that while he was having dinner with Hyman Schlesinger and others on one occasion in 1949, Mr. Schlesinger made the statement: "While we have a strong Communist Party in New York City, I don't see how we can wage a successful revolution unless we build the party in Pittsburgh. It stands to reason that we must get control of the basic industries and the industrial workers before we can even think of a revolution."

Mr. Cvetic testified before the Subversive Activities Control Board when the SACB held hearings in 1954 and 1955 on the Attorney General's petition that the Civil Rights Congress register as a Communist-front organization. Mr. Cvetic then related how a Communist Party organizer for the State of Pennsylvania directed Cvetic to contact Hyman Schlesinger, a member of the party's legal commission in Pittsburgh, to set up a Civil Rights Congress chapter in Pittsburgh. Mr. Schlesinger then held an organizational meeting to set up the CRC chapter but warned that "Trotskyites" and disruptionists should be kept out of CRC, according to Cvetic.

Mr. Schlesinger appeared before this committee as a witness on November 28, 1956, in Youngstown, Ohio, at which time he refused to

answer questions pertaining to Communist Party membership, under the protection of the fifth amendment.

Hyman Schlesinger was a member of the executive board of the National Lawyers Guild in 1949 and 1950. He was elected a member-at-large of the National Lawyers Guild executive board at both the 1956 and 1957 conventions.

#### ESTHER SHANDLER, CALIFORNIA

Esther Shandler was identified as a member of a group of Communist lawyers in the Los Angeles area in hearings held by the Committee on Un-American Activities in January 1952. Former Communist lawyers so identifying Miss Shandler were: David Aaron, Marburg Yerkes, Milton Tyre, and William Israel.

Esther Shandler appeared as a witness at these same hearings and again at hearings held in 1956. On both occasions she invoked the fifth amendment when questioned concerning her Communist activities.

Miss Shandler was admitted to the bar of the State of California in December 1945 and started to practice law in April 1946.

Miss Shandler was listed as early as 1951 and as late as 1956 as a member of a panel of attorneys retained by the Communist-controlled Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born to represent various defendants in legal proceedings.

Esther Shandler's services to the Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born have not been limited to her appearances in court in behalf of those being defended by the committee. In 1951 she was a panel reporter at a regional conference of the Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born which called for the repeal of anti-Communist legislation, "the Smith and McCarran Acts."

In 1953 she was 1 of the 3 delegates sent by the Los Angeles committee to the National Conference To Repeal the Walter-McCarran Law and Defend Its Victims. At the conference, held in Chicago under the auspices of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, ACPFB chairman Abner Green noted in his report that it would not have been possible for the ACPFB to carry on its work "without the outstanding contributions that have been made and continue to be made by our attorneys in every area of the country."

At the fifth annual conference of the Los Angeles committee which was held in 1955 and which called for the outright repeal of the Walter-McCarran law, Esther Shandler and John Porter headed the legal panel discussion on technical questions regarding deportation and denaturalization aspects of the Walter-McCarran law.

The Los Angeles committee's sixth annual conference was held in 1956, at which time Miss Shandler reported on the status of cases defended by the legal panel. She said there were 20 facing imminent deportation, nearly 50 facing supervisory parole, and 8 denaturalization proceedings. She also reported that every effort would be made to keep all deportees here and to retain the citizenship of those whose naturalization was under attack. At this conference, Miss Shandler also chaired a session on the subject of deportation of Mexican nationals and Mexican-Americans.



## ROBERT J. SILBERSTEIN, NEW YORK

Robert J. Silberstein was identified as a member of the Communist Party in sworn testimony before the Committee on Un-American Activities by three lawyers who were former Communists. On December 14, 1955, Mortimer Riemer testified that he knew Silberstein as a Communist and that he attended meetings of a Communist lawyers' group in Silberstein's home in New York in the late 1930's. David Aaron testified in 1952 that he met Silberstein in Los Angeles in the 1940's at a secret Communist meeting in the home of John McTernan, at which time Silberstein spoke on the function of a Los Angeles Communist lawyers' group—what it was supposed to do and its relationship with the National Lawyers Guild.

At these same hearings Marburg Yerkes testified that he, too, met Silberstein at the meeting about which Mr. Aaron testified.

Mr. Silberstein appeared as a witness before this committee on April 9, 1952. He invoked the fifth amendment when questioned about his connections with the Communist Party.

Robert Silberstein has been connected with the National Lawyers Guild since its earliest days. In 1940 he was executive secretary of the New York branch of the National Lawyers Guild. In 1941 he was elected to the national executive board. In 1947 he left private law practice to become the national executive secretary of the guild and carry out the policies adopted by the national convention and by the national board, which is the governing body of the guild between conventions. In 1949 he was sent by the guild as one of its representatives to the convention of the Moscow-controlled International Association of Democratic Lawyers in Rome, Italy. At the conference he voted for the expulsion of the Yugoslav delegates, in accord with the current line of the Kremlin, then disputing with Marshal Tito. When questioned by this committee as to why he voted for expulsion of the Yugoslav delegates, he said that he had voted that way because the delegation did not answer certain charges which were made against it, "not based on wrongdoing on its part but based on its qualifications to continue as a member, and as they didn't answer the question, and I simply felt the question ought to be answered."

Representative Walter of the committee asked, "How do you reconcile the position you are taking today with respect to refusing to answer questions with the position you took in Rome when you voted to exclude from a conference the Yugoslav delegates only because they refused to answer questions?" Mr. Silberstein claimed he could not see the parallel between the situations.

Lawyer Silberstein has been extremely active in opposition to anti-Communist legislation and investigations of the Communist conspiracy. In 1947, speaking as executive secretary of the National Lawyers Guild, Mr. Silberstein blasted the Federal Bureau of Investigation, accusing it of "outrageous action" in setting itself up as "a high priest of political orthodoxy." He protested the issuance of subversive lists, saying they tend to "intimidate" citizens in the exercise of constitutional rights. In 1950, Silberstein was one of a committee of the guild which prepared a report to the President recommending that the President constitute a committee of private citizens to make a thorough investigation of the FBI.

In 1954, acting in his official capacity of executive secretary of the National Lawyers Guild, Silberstein announced that he had sent a letter to the House Judiciary Committee denouncing as legislative verdicts of guilty, proposed bills designed to outlaw the Communist Party.

He was secretary of the National Committee To Defeat the Mundt Bill. When this Communist-controlled lobby was working to defeat the anti-Communist bill, Mr. Silberstein, then executive secretary of the National Lawyers Guild, placed at the disposal of Jerry O'Connell, chairman of the lobbying committee, the entire facilities of the Washington offices of the guild.

While testifying before this committee, Mr. Silberstein called the Mundt-Nixon bill the "most reactionary and repressive measure ever passed in the history of our country." In the course of his testimony he also verified that he had, as executive secretary of the National Lawyers Guild, protested to the Attorney General that the Smith Act was "incompatible with the Bill of Rights."

#### LAURENCE R. SPERBER, CALIFORNIA

Laurence R. Sperber attended meetings of a special lawyers' group of the Communist Party in Los Angeles, according to former Communist lawyer A. Marburg Yerkes, who testified before this committee on January 24, 1952. Mr. Sperber invoked the fifth amendment, however, when summoned before the committee as a witness on October 1, 1952, and asked about his membership in the Community Party.

Mr. Sperber served for many years as secretary of the Los Angeles chapter of the National Lawyers Guild. Publicity issued in connection with various guild activities listed him as executive secretary of the local chapter in 1950, 1951, 1952, 1954, and 1956.

He was a delegate to the guild's national conventions held in New York in February 1953 and in Chicago in November 1954. At the guild's 1956 national convention in Detroit, he acted as chairman of a "build the guild" session. For the guild's 1957 convention in New York, he served as chairman of a "revision of the constitution committee," member of the "convention program and arrangements committee" and member of the "nominating committee." He was elected to the guild's national executive board at both the 1956 and 1957 conventions.

In his capacity as executive secretary of the Los Angeles guild Mr. Sperber announced in 1950 both his and the guild's opposition to local ordinances requiring registration of Communists.

In the same year, Laurence Sperber received publicity as a member of the local lawyers' guild who was questioned by police for soliciting signatures to the Stockholm Peace Petition on a Beverly Hills street corner. The international Communist movement had launched a worldwide drive for signatures to the petition in 1950 as an obvious smokescreen for subsequent armed Communist aggression against South Korea.

In 1951, Lawyer Sperber signed his name to a number of paid advertisements in local newspapers urging repeal of such security legislation as the Smith, Taft-Hartley, and McCarran Acts; calling for the abolition of committees investigating Communist subversion; and appealing for "reasonable bail" for California Communist Party



leaders subject to proceedings under the Smith Act. He was one of the signers of a motion which asked the United States Supreme Court in 1953 for permission to file a brief for a rehearing for Maryland Communist Party leaders convicted under the Smith Act.

Mr. Sperber was a signer of an amicus curiae brief which in 1952 urged dismissal of liquidation proceedings against the International Workers Order, one of the Communist Party's strongest front organizations. He was listed by the Communist-controlled Civil Rights Congress as one of the financial contributors to its publication, "The Civil Rights Congress Tells the Story."

#### FRED H. STEINMETZ, CALIFORNIA

Fred H. Steinmetz was one of the leaders of a secret Communist Party group in Los Angeles composed exclusively of lawyers, according to a former member of the group, A. Marburg Yerkes, who testified before this committee on January 24, 1952. Mr. Steinmetz' membership in this party organization was also confirmed in testimony before the committee by other former Communist lawyers: David Aaron and Albert Herzig, testifying on January 23, 1952; William G. Israel, appearing on January 25, 1952; and Milton S. Tyre, who testified December 14, 1951.

When confronted with this evidence as a witness before the committee on September 30, 1952, Fred H. Steinmetz invoked the fifth amendment rather than affirm or deny past or present membership in the Communist Party.

A lawyer practicing in the city of Los Angeles since 1940, Mr. Steinmetz has been a supporter of the local chapter of the subversive Civil Rights Congress. His name appeared on a paid newspaper advertisement initiated in 1948 by the Civil Rights Congress to protest contempt charges against Communist functionaries who refused to answer questions before a Federal grand jury sitting in Los Angeles. He also signed a statement in that period which called for dismissal of the grand jury itself and wide public attendance at a Civil Rights Congress meeting to protest the proceedings.

In 1950, he served as sponsor of a conference and convention called by the Civil Rights Congress in Los Angeles to devise a program to halt legal proceedings against Communist conspirators. In the same year his name appeared as signer on a propaganda statement against denaturalization proceedings issued by the Communist-controlled American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born.

A paid advertisement carried in a Los Angeles newspaper in 1951 advocated repeal of such security legislation as the Smith, Taft-Hartley, and McCarran Acts and the abolition of committees investigating Communist subversion. Fred Steinmetz' name appeared as signer of this appeal. Meanwhile, in 1951, Mr. Steinmetz was advertised in the Daily People's World as sending both May Day and Labor Day greetings to this West Coast Communist newspaper.

Mr. Steinmetz was one of the signers of a motion in 1953 asking the United States Supreme Court for permission to file an amicus curiae brief in support of a rehearing for Maryland Communist Party leaders convicted under the Smith Act.

**JACK TENNER, CALIFORNIA**

Jack Tenner was identified as a member of the Communist Party in sworn testimony before this committee by three lawyers, David Aaron, Marburg Yerkes, and Milton Tyre, who were former members of the Communist Party. The hearings were conducted in 1952 during the committee's investigation of communism in Los Angeles professional groups. Mr. Tenner was identified as a member of a group of Communist lawyers in Los Angeles.

Mr. Tenner appeared as a witness on October 1, 1952, and refused to answer questions pertaining to Communist Party membership, using the fifth amendment as a basis for his refusal.

Jack Tenner was born in Russia and received his naturalization through derivative citizenship. He has been practicing law since 1948. While he was being questioned by this committee about the Communist conspiracy, he accused the committee of buying informers and made similar scurrilous charges.

In 1948, Mr. Tenner was one of the lawyers who signed a statement issued by the Civil Rights Congress, urging dismissal of contempt charges against Communist functionaries who refused to answer questions before a Federal grand jury sitting in Los Angeles. He also called for dismissal of the grand jury itself.

A member of the legal panel of the Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, Mr. Tenner was one of the spokesmen for the panel at a dinner given by the Los Angeles committee in honor of its attorneys in 1953.

In 1954, the Los Angeles Committee To Secure Justice for Morton Sobell held a meeting called the "Scroll Call for Justice" in an effort to obtain 10,000 signatures on a petition in the fight for freedom of Morton Sobell. Jack Tenner was master of ceremonies at the meeting.

Mr. Tenner has been a member of the National Lawyers Guild for several years. He was a member of the resolutions committee for the 20th anniversary convention in 1956 and elected to the executive board at that convention.

**ROBERT E. TREUHAFT, CALIFORNIA**

Robert Treuhaft was identified as a member of the Communist Party in sworn testimony before the Committee on Un-American Activities on December 2, 1953, by Dickson P. Hill and on December 3, 1953, by Charles D. Blodgett. He was again identified in June 1957 by Dr. Jack Patten.

Mr. Treuhaft appeared as a witness before this committee in 1953 and refused to answer questions concerning his Communist Party membership, basing his refusal on the protection of the fifth amendment.

Mr. Treuhaft has as his law partner another identified Communist, Bertram Edises, whose record appears earlier in this report. The law firm represents the East Bay Civil Rights Congress and, at a testimonial dinner given by the Civil Rights Congress to honor these two attorneys in 1951, it was noted that they had been members of the legal staff of the East Bay Civil Rights Congress since its inception.

In 1948 Mr. Treuhaft was chosen to serve as vice chairman of the Independent Progressive Party in Alameda County, Calif. He was also a sponsor of Edises' campaign when Edises ran for district attorney on the Independent Progressive Party ticket.

Mr. Treuhaft was general counsel for the East Bay Division of Warehouse Local 6 of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union. This union has been cited as having "Communist leadership entrenched" and was expelled from the CIO by vote of the executive board in 1950.

Another Communist-front organization which has had the benefit of Mr. Treuhaft's legal training is the Minute Women for Peace. This organization was formed by the Communists as an attempt to dupe women in the United States into aiding their fraudulent "peace" program. In 1950, the East Bay Minute Women for Peace were circulating petitions on outlawing the atom bomb. Robert Treuhaft was the lawyer who explained the legal rights of petition circulators to the organization.

In 1951, Mr. Treuhaft was a featured speaker at the California Labor School when the school was presenting a "Defend Your Rights" series of lectures.

In 1952, he was one of those who sponsored a national tour for William Patterson, national executive secretary of the Civil Rights Congress and an identified Communist.

Lawyer Treuhaft in 1954 was a delegate from the Bay area to the 19th annual convention of the National Lawyers Guild in Chicago. He was elected to the national executive board of the guild at its 1957 convention.

#### ABRAHAM UNGER, NEW YORK

Abraham Unger, a lawyer in New York City, has played an important role in the Communist Party for many years. Mortimer Riener, lawyer and former Communist, knew Mr. Unger as a member of a Communist Party lawyers' group in New York as far back as 1936.<sup>30</sup> John Lautner, onetime party official, has testified that his contacts with Mr. Unger in Communist Party work extended from 1940 until 1949 and that the lawyer held the status of a party "functionary."<sup>31</sup>

Mr. Lautner's first contact with Mr. Unger occurred in 1940 when the Communist Party sent Lautner to consult with the lawyer on certain party problems. Mr. Lautner knew Mr. Unger as a member of the constitution committee at the Communist Party's national convention in 1945, and also saw him at the party's 1948 national convention. Mr. Lautner related that he met Mr. Unger again in 1949 at a party meeting held in the lawyer's offices at the call of the New York State secretariat of the Communist Party; according to Mr. Lautner, the meeting was held to make final decisions regarding the expulsion from the Communist Party of Bella Dodd.

In an appearance as a witness before the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations on September 17, 1953, Mr. Unger was questioned regarding membership in the Communist Party but would not affirm or deny membership.

The firm of Unger, Freedman, and Fleischer served as the Communist Party's lawyers, according to the testimony of John Lautner.

<sup>30</sup> Testimony of Mortimer Riener before House Committee on Un-American Activities, December 14, 1955.

<sup>31</sup> Testimony of John Lautner before House Committee on Un-American Activities, November 3, 1956, and before Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, September 18, 1953.

For a long period of years, Mr. Unger has been appearing in the courts as legal representative of the Communist Party, its front organizations, and top national officials of the Communist Party.

From 1935 through 1940, Mr. Unger was publicized in various court appearances as attorney for the International Labor Defense. This now defunct legal defense arm of the Communist Party also utilized Mr. Unger as a speaker. In 1949, Mr. Unger was retained as attorney by a similar defense organization of the party, the Civil Rights Congress.

In addition to his legal services, Mr. Unger has been of repeated use to the Communist cause in the capacities of writer, speaker, and officer.

Articles and letters written by Mr. Unger on important party issues of the time have appeared in the Communist Party's official newspaper, the *Daily Worker*, since 1949.

In lengthy letters to the editor of the *Daily Worker* in April and October 1956,<sup>32</sup> Mr. Unger severely lectured the newspaper for a "degeneration" in thinking "among those who speak for the Communist Party in the United States." He criticized the newspaper, then under the editorship of John Gates, for aiding anti-Communists by critical editorial comments on admitted miscarriages of justice in Communist Hungary and on Soviet suppression of a show of independence by Communist Poland. Mr. Unger attacked both Yugoslavia and Poland for daring to deviate from the path of complete subservience to the Soviet Union; he described the previous relationship between the U. S. S. R. and its Polish satellite as "a true example of democracy." He lauded Communist totalitarianism as a system "dedicated to the freedom and liberty of mankind" and warned that Communists in the United States had "the duty" to show any admitted miscarriage of justice behind the Iron Curtain was a "mishap" foreign to Communist ideals.

Abraham Unger's stand accorded with that of the head of the Communist Party of the United States, who subsequently squelched *Daily Worker* questioning of foreign Communist tactics by installing other party members on the newspaper. Editor John Gates resigned from the Communist Party as well as the newspaper in the course of this controversy.

Mr. Unger was a frequent contributor of articles to the Communist weekly magazine *New Masses* in the period from 1941 through 1947. In the latter year, he was one of the sponsors of a plea for financial support for the publication.

As speaker or officer, Mr. Unger has been prominent in front organizations of the Communist Party since the 1930's.

In the 1930's, he was featured as speaker at the Communist Workers School in New York City, and in behalf of the American Friends of the Soviet Union and the Yiddish Communist newspaper *Morning Freiheit*. That period also saw him serving as treasurer of the Communist front, the American Society for Technical Aid to Spanish Democracy, and as a member of the Spain commission of the American League for Peace and Democracy.

In recent years, he has been extremely active in the affairs of the National Lawyers Guild. In 1947 and 1948, he served as executive

<sup>32</sup> *Daily Worker*, April 25, 1956, p. 4, and October 29, 1956, p. 4.

secretary of the New York chapter of the guild. As a representative of the chapter, he appeared as speaker against a measure which would prevent the Communist Party and its youth organization, the American Youth for Democracy, from using public schools for meeting purposes. The board of directors of the New York City chapter of the guild elected Mr. Unger to nonvoting ex-officio membership on the board in 1953.

Mr. Unger participated in a discussion on "Status of Civil Liberties" at the National Lawyers Guild convention held in 1941 in Detroit. He served on the national executive board of the guild in 1949 and 1950. He was also elected to the executive board of the national guild organization at its 1956 convention. At the guild's 1957 national convention, he served on the resolutions committee. In both 1956 and 1957, he was a member of the editorial board of the Lawyers Guild Review, the national guild publication. In 1957, he was also listed as being a member of the editorial board of the New York Guild Lawyer, published by the New York chapter of the guild.

Publicized as a speaker at the Jefferson School of Social Science in 1947 and again in 1956, Mr. Unger in the latter year was a scheduled panelist at a Jefferson School round table on Leninism and United States Marxists. He was also a scheduled speaker at a 1948 function of the International Workers Order. His name appeared on an open letter to Members of Congress which the Conference on Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact sponsored in 1949 in an attempt to defeat a Presidential arms program. In 1950, he joined a delegation in behalf of the subversive Council on African Affairs. He attended a banquet held by the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born in New York City in 1956.

#### DORIS BRIN WALKER (MRS. MASON ROBERSON), CALIFORNIA

Doris Brin Walker, also known as Doris Marasse and Mrs. Mason Roberson, was identified as a member of the Communist Party before this committee on December 2, 1953, by Dickson P. Hill, an undercover agent for the Federal Bureau of Investigation from 1945 until 1949. Dr. Jack Patten, a former Communist Party member, also identified Doris Brin Walker as a member of the Communist Party when he testified before this committee on June 19, 1957.

Mrs. Walker appeared as a witness before this committee on December 4, 1953, at which time she invoked the fifth amendment in refusing to answer questions concerning her Communist Party membership and activities.

Doris Brin Walker was admitted to the California State bar in 1942. She was employed as an enforcement attorney by the Federal Office of Price Administration in San Francisco from 1942 until 1944. From 1944 until late 1945 Doris Brin Walker was in private law practice in San Francisco with four identified Communists, Richard Gladstein, Aubrey Grossman, Bertram Edises, and the late Harold Sawyer.

Mrs. Walker then quit the practice of law and, concealing her professional background, worked at minor jobs in packing plants and other commercial firms in California. Between 1946 and 1949, Mrs. Walker was employed by the H. J. Heinz Co., where the lawyer was a filling-machine operator, the Bercut-Richards Packing Co., and the Cutter Laboratories (who employed the lawyer as a "label clerk.")

While holding these low-level plant jobs, she was also active in the Cannery Workers Union and the United Office and Professional Workers Union.

Mrs. Walker was fired from a number of her plant jobs when her employers were informed that she was a member of the party and was concealing her true professional status as a lawyer. She then took full-time employment as Los Angeles County director of the Communist-operated political front, the Independent Progressive Party, from 1949 to 1951. She finally resumed the active practice of law in 1951, this time in Alameda County, Calif.

The committee has found many instances in which Communist Party members with professional backgrounds have concealed their training in order to get jobs in basic industries; it was learned that this was part of a carefully worked out Communist Party strategy aimed at furthering the party's efforts to infiltrate and gain positions of influence or control in strategic industry.

That Mrs. Walker's similarly strange career was directly motivated by her efforts to serve the Communist Party was brought to light during various hearings held as a result of her effort to get reinstated in minor plant positions.

When Mrs. Walker unsuccessfully contested her firing from Cutter Laboratories in 1949 for concealing facts regarding membership in the Communist Party and her professional background, the firm's lawyers noted that its business required "more than the usual precaution against sabotage and subversion" because it was a defense plant, manufacturing biological products for both civilian and military use. The firm also noted that as soon as her six months' probationary period of work at Cutter had been completed, Mrs. Walker had become chairman of the plant unit of the United Office and Professional Workers (a union expelled from the CIO the next year for its adherence to the Communist Party line).

Also introduced in evidence was a handwritten letter from Mrs. Walker to State headquarters of the Communist Party, dated July 10, 1946, and stating in part:

\* \* \* I tried to evaluate my action, as I try to evaluate whatever I do, from the point of view of the welfare of the working class and the strengthening of the party \* \* \*

It is interesting to note that Dickson P. Hill, former Federal Bureau of Investigation undercover agent in the Communist Party, who testified before this committee in 1953, said that he had known Mrs. Walker in the 1940's to be a member of a "cannery workers club" of the Communist Party.

Mrs. Walker, after her resumption of active law practice, was the principal speaker at a rally protesting the Los Angeles Smith Act convictions which was sponsored by the Oakland branch of the East Bay Civil Rights Congress during August 1952. During March 1952, Doris Walker had been retained as a defense attorney by the Civil Rights Congress. During December 1953 she participated in a round-table discussion sponsored by the East Bay Civil Rights Congress in Oakland, Calif. Mrs. Walker, along with the other panel speakers, discussed the so-called threat of the House Un-American Activities Committee.



Doris Brin Walker, a member of the "San Francisco Committee To Save the Rosenbergs," joined with the other members in an attempt to obtain a meeting place for a Rosenberg clemency rally in San Francisco during November 1952. Mrs. Walker was the chairman of a Bay area campaign meeting to win a new trial for Morton Sobell during November 1953.

During February 1953, Doris Brin Walker was one of the signers of a motion asking the United States Supreme Court for permission to file an amicus curiae brief in support of a rehearing for the six Baltimore Smith Act defendants.

Mrs. Walker was retained by the Northern California Committee for Protection of Foreign Born as the defense attorney for an alien charged in deportation proceedings with being a Communist Party member after his entry into the United States in 1921.

Mrs. Walker spoke at a mass meeting during July 1953 protesting the deportation on similar charges of William Heikkila. This rally was sponsored by the Northern California Committee for Protection of Foreign Born. Doris Brin Walker was honored as one of a group of San Francisco lawyers who "have staunchly defended the civil rights of the foreign born," at a testimonial dinner on April 30, 1954, sponsored by the Northern California Committee for Protection of Foreign Born in San Francisco, Calif.

During November 1953, Mrs. Walker was the chairman of a meeting held at the California Labor School.

Doris Brin Walker was a delegate from the Bay area to the National Lawyers Guild convention, held in Chicago during November 1954.

Mrs. Walker sent Labor Day greetings to the Daily People's World on September 4, 1953.

#### NATHAN WITT, NEW YORK

Nathan Witt was identified as a member of the Communist Party in sworn testimony before this committee on August 3, 1948, by Whitaker Chambers, a former Communist Party official, who testified that Nathan Witt was the head of a Communist underground group operating in Washington, D. C., in the late thirties for the purpose of infiltrating the United States Government.

On August 24, 1948, Nathan Witt was again identified as a member of the Communist Party by Louis Budenz, a former Communist and managing editor of the Daily Worker.

On October 2, 1952, another phase of the role played by Nathan Witt in the Communist conspiracy was brought to light by Kenneth Eckert, former Communist and union official, in testimony before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee.

Mr. Chambers testified that Nathan Witt was an attorney for the National Labor Relations Board at the time Chambers knew him. Witt first entered Government employment in 1933 when he was attached to the Agricultural Adjustment Administration of the Department of Agriculture, having been recommended by Lee Pressman.

In 1934 he started to work for the National Labor Relations Board, advancing to the post of Assistant General Counsel in 1935 and to Secretary of the Board in 1937. During his tenure in Government employment, Witt was closely associated with Alger Hiss, John Abt,

Lee Pressman, and Charles Kramer, members of the Communist underground group who were also employed by the Government.

In late 1940 Nathan Witt left the National Labor Relations Board and entered private law practice.

Nathan Witt has held the official post of "the attorney or general counsel" to the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers since early 1941, with the exception of a short period during World War II.

Mr. Eckert testified that Nathan Witt in the 1940's was one of the top party men and a liaison between the Communist Party and various unions that were under Communist control, including the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers. The witness said Mr. Witt frequently transmitted various party directives to the mine-mill union which were then put into effect by the union. Mr. Eckert also testified that Nathan Witt attended many party meetings at which important decisions affecting mine-mill were to be made.

According to Mr. Eckert, mine-mill was regarded by the Communist Party "as one of the key unions in America because of its strategic position in the nonferrous metals industry" and also because it had locals in Alaska in "close proximity to the Soviet Union." Mr. Eckert observed that mine-mill locals in Alaska, completely dominated by the Communist Party, were only 40 miles from the Soviet Union.

In 1941 Nathan Witt was counsel for the United Federal Workers of America, a Communist-dominated union. He was chief counsel for the infamous New York Teachers Union Local 555 in the late 1940's.

Mr. Witt appeared as a witness before the Committee on Un-American Activities in August 1948, September 1950, and for a third time on March 1, 1956. On all three occasions he invoked the fifth amendment and refused to answer questions pertaining to the Communist Party and his membership in it.

In the course of the hearing in 1950, Witt was confronted with a letter dated October 16, 1940, which he as Secretary of the National Labor Relations Board sent to the chairman of a special committee of the House of Representatives to investigate the National Labor Relations Board. In this letter, Mr. Witt wrote: "I am not now, nor have I ever been, a member of the Communist Party, a 'Communist sympathizer' or one who 'hews to the Communist Party line.'"

Mr. Witt, when under oath before the committee, refused, on the grounds of self-incrimination, to state that he had sent the letter or that the statements contained therein were true or false.

Nathan Witt has been an active participant in many other Communist-controlled organizations, serving several in an official capacity.

He was a member of the national committee of the International Juridical Association, a Communist-front organization fully described earlier in this report.

Mr. Witt was counsel for, and a member of, the executive committee of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties. When this Communist-front organization was absorbed into the Civil Rights Congress at a 1946 conference, he was a member of the resolutions and continuations committees at the conference. In 1949 he was listed as an attorney for the Civil Rights Congress.



Mr. Witt was a member of the board of directors of the New York Conference for Inalienable Rights. This conference was called in February 1941 to attack antisabotage legislation and the Rapp-Coudert Committee investigating subversive activities in the New York public-school system.

The Jefferson School of Social Science was cited as an adjunct of the Communist Party. Mr. Witt in 1950 was on the board of trustees of this front used to recruit new party members and sympathizers.

Other Communist-front organizations which have had the support of Nathan Witt are the Negro Labor Victory Committee, the American League for Peace and Democracy, the Citizens Victory Committee for Harry Bridges, and the National Lawyers Guild.

### CONCLUSION

This committee holds the legal profession of our Nation in the highest esteem and considers the privilege of practicing law one of the most cherished in our system of justice.

In issuing this report on legal subversion, the committee has sought to focus attention upon a very small minority within the legal profession. The activities of this minority should not be permitted to cast discredit upon the overwhelming majority of patriotic attorneys whose work is vital to the very functioning of our democratic processes.

On the other hand, the paucity of lawyers publicly identified as Communists must not be interpreted as meaning that their influence is insignificant and without danger. In the legal as well as other fields, the Communist Party emphasizes discipline and efficiency of members over mere numbers. Any attempt to judge the influence of Communists by their numbers, according to Dr. Frederick C. Schwarz, executive director of the international Christian Anti-Communist Crusade, is like—

trying to determine the validity of the hull of the boat by relating the area of the holes to the area which is sound. One hole can sink the ship. Communism is the theory of the disciplined few controlling and directing the rest. One person in a sensitive position can control, manipulate, and, if necessary, destroy thousands of others.

The committee again emphasizes that it has never conducted an investigation solely directed toward determining the nature and extent of Communist subversion through the instrumentality of the legal profession. The committee nevertheless believes that this report, even though limited to evidence obtained incidentally in the course of other investigations, offers more than ample grounds for prompt action by those who would preserve the high standards of the American bar.

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# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : The Director

DATE: JAN. 22, 1959

FROM : J. P. Mohr

SUBJECT: The Congressional Record

NASHVILLE, TENN.

Page A370, Congressman Loefer, (D) Tennessee, extended his remarks to include an editorial entitled "Keep This Committee" which appeared in the Nashville Banner on January 13, 1959. Mr. Loefer pointed out that "This editorial, concerning the need for continuing the House Un-American Activities Committee, will be of interest to everyone interested in a free America." It is stated in the editorial "Whether it is an enforcement arm, like the Federal Bureau of Investigation, or a congressional investigative agency--like the Senate Internal Security Committee--any unit of government that challenges subversive conspiracy makes enemies. The House Committee on Un-American Affairs also is distinguished for the foes it has made, some of whom periodically and constantly for 20 years have been under its scalp. . . . It is a needed weapon in the internal security bit. The majority of America knows that and will not willingly consent to its abolition."

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In the original of a memorandum captioned and dated as above, the Congressional Record for was reviewed and pertinent items were marked for the Director's attention. This form has been prepared in order that portions of a copy of the original memorandum may be clipped, mounted, and placed in appropriate Bureau case or subject matter files.

DO-6

OFFICE OF DIRECTOR  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Director and FBI are mentioned  
in articles on pages 4 and 11.

Mr. Tolson ☒  
Mr. Belmont ☒  
Mr. DeLoach ☒  
Mr. McGuire ☒  
Mr. Mohr ☒  
Mr. Parsons ☒  
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ENCLOSURE

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House Un American Activities Committee



# \* Straws in the Wind

(Article In In A Nutshell - 1959)

**I**N IN A NUTSHELL last month, we brought to the attention of our readers the smear campaign that is being leveled against the FBI and its director, J. Edgar Hoover. That drive is proceeding according to the schedule set by the leftists. Paralleling that campaign to discredit the FBI is the campaign to undermine and do away with the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

The smearing of that Congressional Committee has been tried before by the Communist Party in this country. But now there will be a great many more socialist-minded legislators in Washington—men elected with the help of ADA and COPE—and there is some fear that the Un-American Activities Committee will be in for a hard time.

There are straws in the wind that show how the stage is being set for the attack. For instance, the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) launched

a campaign in November in Southern California to gain at least 100,000 signatures on a petition urging that the Committee be abolished. One of Southern California's Congressmen, Donald Jackson, is a prominent member of ACLU, and another California Congressman, James Roosevelt, wrote to a national official of the ACLU stating "it is my intention to cooperate in the offering of a resolution to the Democratic caucus and on the floor of the House, to eliminate the Un-American Activities Committee of the House of Representatives." LX.

Ever since the early days of the Un-American Activities Committee, when Congressman Martin Dies was Chairman, it has been the prime target of subversive elements in this country. It makes one shudder to think what might have happened if that Committee's investigations had not been car-

INFORMATION CONTAINED

ried on. Our people and our lawmakers might have been left completely in the dark about the nefarious schemes and acts of Red spies who were planted in strategic positions in business and in government to weaken and destroy this nation.

Socialist elements have greatly increased strength in the new

Congress. Many lawmakers were elected with the support of COPE and ADA and are ready to cast their votes according to the dictates of those organizations. So it will be a miracle if we avoid a rash of socialistic laws and the elimination of investigating bodies that serve to alert our people.

## ~~Something Rotten in Russia?~~

**F**OR THE past few months, the papers have been full of stories about the Pasternak affair. Pasternak, as you know, is the Russian who was awarded the Nobel prize for a novel which criticized Russia, but declined to accept the award.

On the surface, such a situation arouses the sympathy of free people everywhere. But, being naturally suspicious of the motives of the Russians, we wonder if there isn't more to this than meets the eye. For example, we read where Pasternak has been *invited* to leave Russia—in safety. And he declined that, too.

Since when has the Soviet exiled to a free country anyone who displeases them? Usually, they are sent to Siberia—or just disappear altogether. And if

Pasternak feels as he expressed himself in his book and was forced to decline the Nobel prize by Soviet authorities, wouldn't he welcome a chance to escape to a free country, where he could write as he pleases, without fear of recrimination?

We may be wrong . . . we hope we are . . . but just the same we'll keep our eyes open if Pasternak does come to this country, and will urge that he have the most intensive surveillance any visitor from behind the Iron Curtain ever had. For this looks like a typical Red build-up for just such a trick. To paraphrase Shakespeare, we're afraid there's "something rotten in Russia" in this instance, as there is in many others.